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HOWELL'S  
FAMILIAR LETTERS.







©  
*EPISTOLÆ HO-ELIANÆ*

The  
Familiar Letters  
of

James Howell

*Historiographer Royal to Charles II.*

EDITED, ANNOTATED, AND INDEXED

BY

JOSEPH JACOBS

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY, MADRID

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, INDEX



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To Mr. (now Dr.) JAMES GOW, at Nottingham.

MY DEAR GOW,

**I**T is some years ago, you may remember, that you asked me to procure you a Howell, if I chanced upon another copy. Here then at last you have him, tricked out in braver apparel than he ever yet has known, and provided with such aids to the better understanding and enjoying of him as my poor skill could devise.

You were probably attracted to Howell, as I was, by our Thackeray's perhaps too enthusiastic praise; but, once the ceremony of introduction is over, he wins us to himself by his own merits. His wide range of experience and of interest, his vicissitudes of travel and of fortune, the many cities he visited, the many men he knew, his fund of gossip and anecdote, his quaint yet earnest reflections on life, all combine to make his Letters a more varied literary repast than almost any other collection of the kind in our literature; and with it all there goes his unabashed self-satisfaction in his own cleverness which gives an added piquancy to everything he says. In short, he is first in point of time of the order of men to which Pepys, Boswell, and Walpole belong. I am hoping that he will take his place by  
their

*their side as one of the perennial sources, instructive at once and amusing, of English Culturgeschichte.*

*Amid all his vanity and superficiality, there is one note of sentiment which rings true. He could make friends and keep them. I have therefore thought it not inappropriate to connect this attempt to win for him a secure place in English Letters with the name of one of my oldest and truest friends.*

*I am, my dear Gow,*

*Yours very sincerely,*

JOSEPH JACOBS.

*KILBURN, this 1st of October, 1890.*

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HOWELL'S  
FAMILIAR LETTERS.







with the curtest definitions inserted in the Index. I am heretic enough to believe that English literature was not solely written to provide quotations for the Oxford English Dictionary, though I have done what I could for that noble undertaking by indexing Howell's phraseology.

In compiling my annotations I have consulted books with all the diligence I could, and where books failed, I have been equally diligent in consulting men. I have to mention in this connection Mr. Henry Bradley, Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., Mr. Everard Green, F.S.A., Dr. James Gow, Mr. Octavius Johnson of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. S. L. Lee, Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A., Mr. Alfred Morrison, and Professor Rhys, who has been invaluable for Welsh matters. Some of these gentlemen I have the happiness to call my friends, others I have only approached in connection with the present work. But each and all have taken great pains to answer my questions, and have taken even greater when they could not.

One name deserves to stand out from the list of those to whom I am indebted. The only person who, so far as I can find, has hitherto made serious collections for an edition of Howell was Mr. Henry King, whose name was known to the readers of *Notes and Queries* in the "fifties" and "sixties." His notes came recently into a bookseller's catalogue, where I heard of them, of course, a couple  
of


of days too late. Fortunately for me, they had come into the possession of Mr. C. H. Firth, who, on my application to him, willingly granted me the use of King's materials. These consisted chiefly of elaborate biographical notes on some eighty or ninety of the persons mentioned in the *Letters*. I have culled from these what I thought was pertinent to my researches, and when I make use of them I have added Mr. King's initials. Mr. Firth has added to this obligation by communicating to me his marginal notes on his own copy of Howell, and has crowned his kindness by going through my Notes in the proofs. I have made specific acknowledgment for each item of information by adding Mr. Firth's initials to the notes thus obtained. But no such acknowledgment could adequately express the advantage I have reaped by having ready access to the vast and minute knowledge of the period possessed by Mr. Firth, almost alone among contemporary Englishmen. I have no terms sufficient to express my gratitude for the ready generosity shown by Mr. Firth towards one, whose only claim upon him was a common interest in Howell and in the truth. At the same time it is only fair to Mr. Firth and to myself to relieve him from any responsibility for any of the views expressed in the Notes or the Introduction.

One last acknowledgment and my debts are paid

so-

so far as words can repay kindness. This time it is one who was dead and buried before I thought of Howell. Yet he has laid me and all other students of English history and letters in the seventeenth century under every kind of obligation. He wrote good books himself, and, what is more to the present purpose, collected the materials out of which good books could be written. I am surprised that more use is not made of the Forster Library at South Kensington Museum by students of the Stuart period, who will find there almost everything they can desire for their work, very accessible and most comfortably arranged. I have done most of my work for this edition of Howell in the snug room devoted to the Dyce and Forster collections. My only regret has been that I could not personally thank John Forster for the conveniences thus laid at my disposal. As that is impossible, let my thanks be given to his representative in this connection, Mr. R. F. Sketchley, the courteous and obliging Librarian of the Dyce and Forster collections, who has aided my researches in every possible way.

JOSEPH JACOBS.





## TESTIMONIA.

NOT to know the Author of these Poems, were an ignorance beyond *Barbarism*. . . . He may be called the prodigie of his Age, for the variety of his Volumes; for from his *Δενδρολογία* or *Parly of Trees* [1640], to his *Θηρολογία* or *Parly of Beasts* [1660] (not inferior to the other), there hath pass'd the Press above forty of his Works on various subjects; useful not only to the present times, but to all posterity. And 'tis observed that in all his Writings there is something still *New*, either in the *Matter, Method* or *Fancy*, and in an untrodden Tract. Moreover, one may discover a kinde of Vein of *Poesie* to run through the body of his *Prose*, in the Continuity and succinctness thereof all along. He teacheth a new way of Epistolizing; and that *Familiar Letters* may not only consist of Words and a bombast of Compliments, but that they are capable of the highest Speculations and solidest kind of Knowledge.

PAYNE FISHER, Preface to *Mr. Howel's Poems*, 1664.

AND now I think on it, I cannot a little wonder that whilst there are extant so many volumes of letters, and familiar epistles in the politer modern languages, Italian, Spanish, and French, we should have so few tolerable ones of our own country now extant, who have adorned the part of elegancy, so proper and so becoming persons of the nobility, quality, and men of business, and education, as well as lovers and courtiers of the fair sex. Sir Francis Bacon, Dr. Donne, and I hardly remember any else who have published anything considerable, and these but gleanings: or Cabal men, who have put many things in a heap, without much choice

choice or fruits, especially as to the culture of the style or language, the genius of the nation being almost another thing than it was at that time. James Howell published his "Ho-Eliañæ" for which he indeed was laughed at (not for his letters which acquainted us with a number of passages worthy to be known and had never else been preserved) but which, were the language enlightened with that sort of exercise and conversation, I should not question its being equal to any of the most celebrated abroad.

JOHN EVELYN to Lord Spencer (1688).

He had a singular command of his pen whether in verse or in prose, and was well read in modern Histories, especially in those of the Countries wherein he had travelled, had a parabolical and allusive fancy, according to his motto *Senesco non segnesco*. But the Reader is to know that his writings, having been only to gain a livelihood, and by their dedications to flatter great and noble persons, are very trite and empty, stolen from other authors without acknowledgment, and fitted only to please the humours of novices. . . . Many of the said Letters were never written before the Author of them was in the Fleet, as he pretends they were, only feigned (no time being kept with their dates) and purposely published to gain money to relieve his necessities, yet give a tolerable history of these times.

ANTHONY À WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.* (1691), iii. 744 (ed. 1817).

He was master of more modern languages and author of more books than any other Englishman of his time.

J. GRANGER, *Biogr. Hist. of Engl.* (1769).

I BELIEVE the second published correspondence of this kind and in our own language, at least of any importance after Hall, will be found to be EPISTOLÆ HOELIANÆ, or the letters of James Howell, a great traveller, an intimate friend of Jonson, and the first who bore the office of historiographer, which discover a variety of literature, and abound with much entertaining and useful information.

T. WARTON, *Hist. of English Poetry* (1781), § lxiv. *ad fin.*

HOWELL, the author of *Familiar Letters*, &c., wrote the chief part

part of them, and almost all his other works, during his long confinement in the Fleet Prison; some say for debts which his irregular living had occasioned, and others for political reasons. This is certain, that he used his pen for subsistence in that imprisonment, and there produced one of the most agreeable works in the English language.

I. D'ISRAELI, *Curiosities of Literature* (1791).

A WORK containing numberless anecdotes and historical narratives, and forming one of the most amusing and instructive volumes of the seventeenth century.

SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, *Censura Literaria* (1808), vi. 232.

THE *Epist. Ho-Eliana* is one of the most amusing volumes extant. And I purpose, God willing, at some future time to give a new and corrected impression of this excellent book, with notes and an appendix, for which work I have for a long time past been making the necessary collections.

PH. BLISS, notes on *Athen. Oxon.* (1817), iii. 747.

HOWELL has no wit, but he has abundance of conceits, flat and commonplace enough. With all this he was a man of some sense and observation. His letters are entertaining.

H. HALLAM, *Literature of Europe* (1839), iii. 393 (ed. 1872).

WHAT old English work, it might be asked, is there which gives so vivid a picture of the period to which it relates, in so amusing a style, and which so pleasantly varies its subjects, passing "from grave to gay, from lively to severe," as Howell's *Letters*? If Anthony Wood's statement is true that many of the letters were composed in prison for the press, and were never actually sent to the correspondents whose names are prefixed to them, the volume is entitled to a still higher place in a critical review of the literature of the time. None but a "master of the craft" could have given to a series prepared for such a purpose, so much of "the form and pressure" of the ordinary letters which pass in the social intercourse of life, without a view to any ulterior destination, between man and man.

; J. CROSSLEY, *Diary of Worthington* (1847), p. 349.

MONTAIGNE

MONTAIGNE and "Howel's *Letters*" are my bedside books. I wake at night, I have one or other of them to prattle me to sleep again. They talk about themselves for ever and don't weary me. I like to hear them tell their old stories over and over again. I read them in the dozy hours and only half remember them. I am informed that both of them tell coarse stories. I don't heed them. It was the custom of their time, as it is of Highlanders and Hottentots, to dispense with a part of dress which we all wear in cities. . . . I love, I say, and scarcely ever tire of hearing, the artless prattle of those two dear old friends, the Perigourdin gentleman and the priggish little Clerk of King Charles's Council.

W. M. THACKERAY, *Roundabout Papers: On Two Children in Black*.

A THOROUGH Welshman, Howell became a celebrated English author in his day. He was past forty years of age before his first book was published. Then for the remaining twenty odd years of his life, with an incessant and unwearying industry, he wrote, compiled, or translated book after book, each varying greatly in subject. Lastly, he is one of the earliest instances of literary man successfully maintaining himself with the fruits of his pen.

E. ARBER, Pref. to Howell's *Instructions* (1869).

To the list of writers whom it is impossible to use with confidence must, I am afraid, be added that agreeable letter-writer Howell. But there can be no doubt that many of his letters are mere products of the bookmaker's skill, drawn up from memory long afterwards [*E.g.* I. ii. 12]. On the other hand, some of the letters have all the look of being what they purport to be, actually written at the time, but even then, the dates at the end are frequently incorrectly given.

S. R. GARDINER, *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, Pref. p. xiv. (1869).

HOWELL had something of the versatile activity of Defoe; like Defoe, he travelled on the Continent for commercial purposes and like Defoe, he was often employed on political missions. Only Howell had less power than the later adventurer, and was less

less intensely political, observing men good-humouredly, and recording his observations with sparkling liveliness.

W. MINTO, *Engl. Prose Lit.* (1872), p. 351.

HE may be called the Father of Epistolary Literature, the first writer, that is to say, of letters which, addressed to individuals, were intended for publication. A style animated, racy, and picturesque; keen powers of observation; great literary skill; an eager, restless, curious spirit; some humour and much wit, and a catholicity of sympathy very unusual with the writers of his age—are his chief claims to distinction.

W. B. SCOONES, *English Letters* (1880), p. 71.

MY BOOKS.

For the row that I prize is yonder,  
Away on the unglazed shelves,  
The bulged and the bruised *octavos*,  
The dear and the dumpy twelves.

Montaigne with his sheepskin blistered,  
And Howell the worse for wear,  
And the worm-drilled Jesuits' Horace,  
And the little old cropped Molière,

And the Burton I bought for a florin,  
And the Rabelais foxed and flea'd.  
For the others I never have opened,  
But those are the books I read.

AUSTIN DOBSON, *At the Sign of the Lyre* (1885), p. 82.

HE wrote all manner of things, but has chiefly survived as the author of a large collection of *Familiar Letters*, which have been great favourites with some excellent judges. They have something of the agreeable garrulousness of Walton. But Howell was not only much more of a gossip than Izaak; he was also a good deal of a coxcomb, while Walton was destitute of even a trace of coxcombry. In one, however, as in the other, the attraction of matter completely outdoes the purely literary attraction. The reader is glad to hear at first hand what men thought of Raleigh's execution;



execution ; how Ben Jonson behaved in his cups ; how foreign parts looked to a genuine English traveller early in the seventeenth century, and so forth. Moreover, the book was long a very popular one, and an unusual number of anecdotes and scraps passed from it into the general literary stock of English writers. But Howell's manner of telling his stories is not extraordinarily attractive, and has something self-conscious and artificial about it which detracts from its interest.

G. SAINTSBURY, *Elizabethan Literature* (1887), p. 441.





## INTRODUCTION.



WHEN Wales conquered England in 1485, one consequence of the conquest was that Welshmen found a *carrière ouverte* in the civil and military services of England. The finest spirits of the Principality looked henceforth to England as a fit field for the exercise of their talents. It soon came about that Wales contributed her quota to the spiritual, as well as the practical, life of England. In the Jacobean period especially, a circle of remarkable men make a distinct Welsh group in the band of English writers. The brothers Herbert, the poet and the autobiographer, the brothers Vaughan, and James Howell, have something special about them—a mystic grace in the poet, an overweening vanity in the autobiographer, and a vivacity in the letter writer—which may fairly be set down to their Welsh origin. Of these writers Howell is personally as interesting as any, and it would not be too bold to claim for his chief work, the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*,<sup>1</sup> that it is the most important contribution Wales has made to English literature.

---

<sup>1</sup> It may be desirable, even at this early stage, to remind the reader that our hero's name is to be pronounced *Ho-el*.

It cannot be said that either Wales or England has recognised adequately Howell's claims as writer or as man. Wales in particular is not so rich in great contributions to English letters that she can afford to neglect perhaps the most important of all. In order to justify both this claim and the implied reproach, a somewhat fuller account of the man and his writings must be afforded than would be necessary merely to introduce the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ*.





## I. HOWELL'S LIFE.<sup>1</sup>

*Que Regio in terris nostro non nota* Jacobo.—P. FISHER.

**J**AMES HOWELL was born at Abernant,<sup>2</sup> co. Carmarthen, in July 1593.<sup>3</sup> "At my nativity," says he (*infra*, p. 372), "my ascendant was that hot constellation of *Cancer* about the Dog-days, as my *Ephemerides* tells me; *Mars* was then predominant: Of all the elements *Fire* sways most in me; I have many aspiring and airy odd thoughts swell often in me; according to the quality of the ground

<sup>1</sup> The chief authority for Howell's life has hitherto been Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss, iii. 744, *seq.*): it has not hitherto been noticed that this biography is merely a cento of Howell's own statements in the *Letters*. The admirable life in the *Biographia Britannica* goes still further in the same direction. The Latin poem prefixed by Payne Fisher to Howell's *Poems* has some new points. A few additional facts from the State Papers were given by Mr. J. E. Bailey, 5 *Notes and Queries*, xi. 450, and these were incorporated in the anonymous life in the last edition of the *Ency. Brit.* Mr. Lee's succinct account in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* has several new suggestions. Where no authority is given in the following account, a reference will easily be found, s. v. *Howell, James*, in the Index.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus Jones claims him for Brecknockshire in his *History of the county*, ii. 270, and has been followed by Nicholas, *Annals of Wales*, p. 102; P. C. Jones, *Cymru* (in Welsh, 1875), s. v. *Howel, James*, and Mr. Bailey. But on T. Jones' own showing (l.c. 279) Howell's father vacated the cure of Cefn-Bryn in 1583. Howell is, besides, attributed to Carmarthen in the matriculation lists of his University, where such attribution was of importance in the grant of fellowships. See notes on pp. 218, 238, 688.

<sup>3</sup> When he entered Jesus Coll., Oxon., in June 1610, he was 16, *ergo*, he should have been born in 1593.

whereon

whereon I was born, which was the belly of a huge Hill situated South-East; so that the House I came from (besides my Father's and Mother's Coat) must needs be *Illustrious*, being more obvious to the Sun-beams than ordinary. I have, upon occasion of a sudden distemper, sometimes a mad-man, sometimes a fool, sometimes a melancholy odd fellow to deal withal; I mean myself, for I have the humours within me that belong to all three, therefore I came tumbling out into the World a pure *Cadet*, a true *Cosmopolite*; not born to Land, Lease, House, or Office."

His father was one Thomas Howell, of whom all that is known is that he was curate of Cefn-Bryn, in Llangammarch, co. Brecon, 1576-83, and rector of Cynwil and Abernant, co. Carmarthen, 1583-1631 (Th. Jones, *Hist. of Brecknockshire*, ii. 270); his mother is declared by the same authority to have been the daughter of one Chantor Huet, and was possibly sister-in-law to Sir Sackville Trevor, whom Howell addresses as "uncle." He claims Gwynns, Vaughans, Prices, St Johns as his "cousins," a somewhat elastic term in the seventeenth century, and in his letter to Philip, Earl of Pembroke (*Bibl. List*, No. 20), he boasts of kinship with the Herberts.<sup>1</sup> Welsh genealogies are proverbially intricate, and are rendered so by the fact that surnames were only adopted in the Principality under Roland Lee's ordinance of 1536.

But, though difficult, Welsh genealogies are more than usually trustworthy; for, owing to the clan tenure of Wales, a man's genealogy represented his title-deeds. The genealogy of the Howells can be traced (in a Harleian MS. at the British Museum) back to Tudwal Gloff, son of Rhodri the Great, who flourished in the ninth century. More interest perhaps attaches to the descending than to the ascending

<sup>1</sup> Portraits of the Howells, including one of James probably taken from the Melan plate, were still preserved in 1801 at Landeilo House (at Llandeilo Cresseny, on the road between Abergaveny and Carmarthen), the seat of the cadet branch of the Powells (ap. Howell), descended from the Herberts (W. Coxe, *Tour in Monmouth*, ii. 284). This appears now to be in the possession of Rev. H. Howell of Blaina (D.N.B. s.v.).

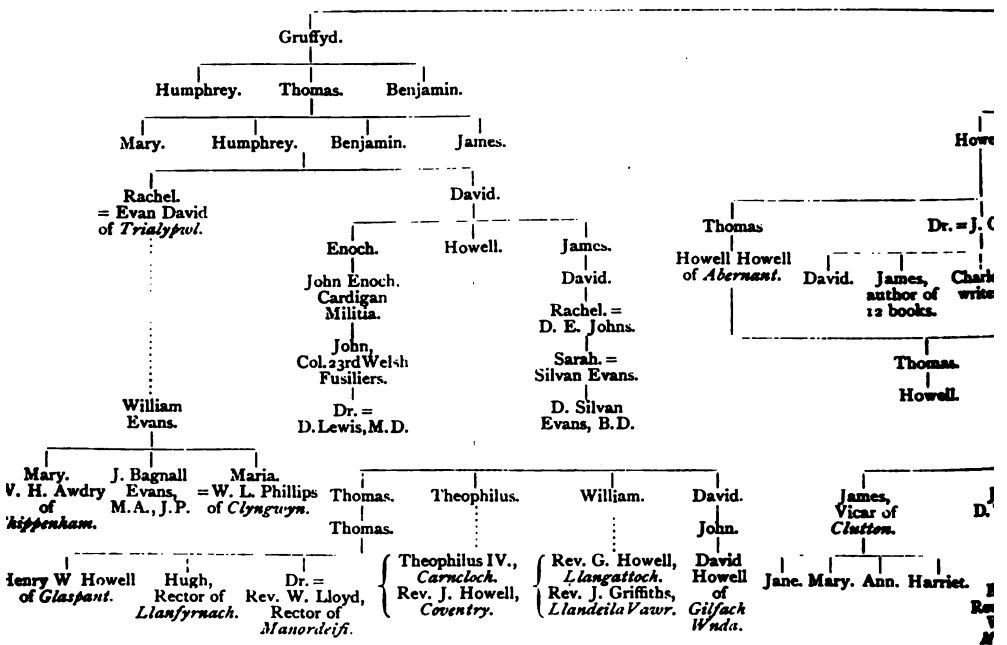


# HOWELLS O

TUDWAL C

*Authorities.*  
Harl. MS., 4181.  
Howell's *Letters* and Will.  
MS. Pedigree lent by J. Bagnall Evans, Esq.  
Jones, *Bracon*, i. i. 672.  
*Biog. Brit.*, s.v.

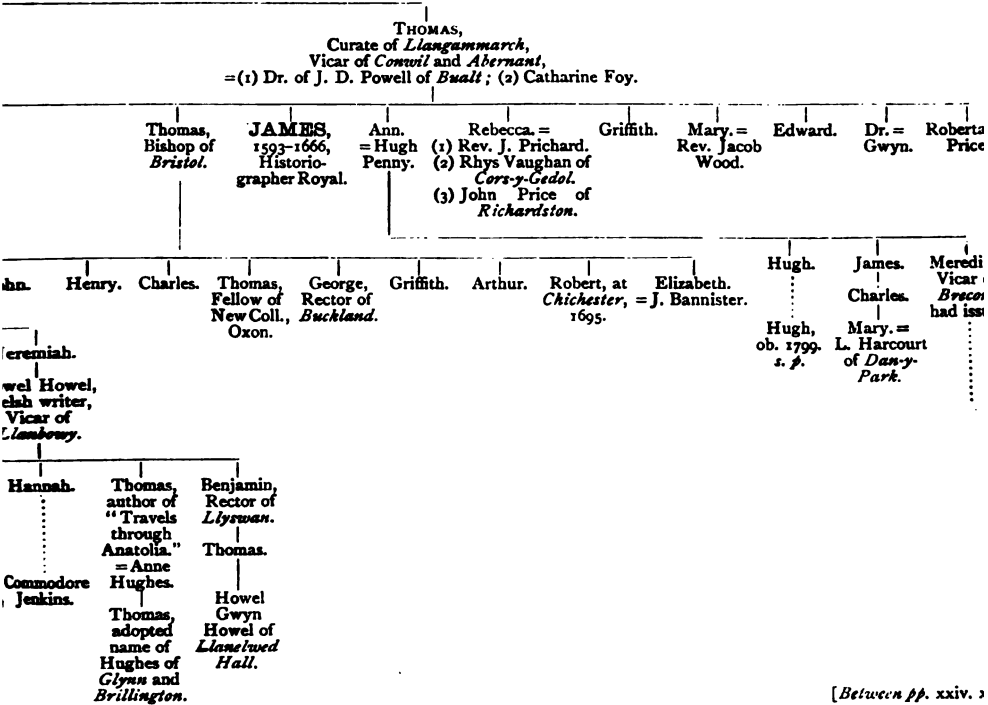
Howel ab David ab Eimon  
ab Howell ab Ma  
ab Tudwal ab C  
ab T



ENCAERAU.

fl. 878 A.D.

ab John Fychau ab John  
wel ab Gruffyd  
shan ab Alser  
f.



[Between pp. xxiv. &]





lines of the pedigree of a man of repute. James Howell himself never married, but cousins, brothers, and sisters of his have wed and multiplied considerably since the seventeenth century. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. J. Bagnall Evans, a descendant of Howell's uncle Griffith, I have been able to draw up the accompanying pedigree of the Howells of Pencaerau, which indicates James Howell's immediate relationships, and at the same time indicates the families now living, who have a personal interest in his name and fame.<sup>1</sup>

I have managed to be equally successful with his "Father's and Mother's Coat" of arms referred to in the above extract. Howell destroyed the artistic value of the second state of the plate attached to many of his works by inserting his shield and crest: I have had this engraved for the title-page of the present edition. This has been adopted by a descendant of the Howells, who blazons it (*cf.* T. Nicholas, *Annals and Families of Wales*, i. 116) as follows:—

1. Azure, a wolf salient, ppr [should be, arg. *cf.* Berry, s. v. Howell]; 2. Arg. a chev. gu. between three cocks; 3. Erm. charged with a chev. gu. in chief, a lioncil, ppr; 4. Sable, a lion rampant or [should be, regardant]; 5. Or, a lion rampant gules; 6. Sable, a bend or between two daggers ppr, hilted or [should be, the one in chief pointing upwards, the one in base downwards, hilts and pomels of the second]. *Crest*, a wolf, ppr.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth while lingering on these particulars, as a man's

<sup>1</sup> I have added something from the sources indicated in the margin, while I have expunged from Mr. Evans' MS. pedigree the names of the spouses in most instances, as well as those persons who are mentioned as having died *sine prole*. I should be glad to receive corrections and additions. The descendants of Bishop Howell and of Hugh Penry ought to be more traceable.

<sup>2</sup> With the aid of Mr. Everard Green, F.S.A., I have identified the following quarterings:—1. Howell. 2. Owen. 3. Jenkyn, ap. David. 6. Gwynne of Trecastle. It is, perhaps, worth while adding that Howell's brother, Bishop of Bristol, had for arms—Gu., a falcon rising, wings expanded, arg. (Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*, p. 23). I fancy, however, that this is a mistake. Both Howells use this on their seal.

career before the French Revolution depended in no small degree on his genealogy. "In this world," says Goethe, "a man must be either hammer or anvil," and, in the England of the Stuarts, it depended on a man's family to which of these classes he belonged. The hard knocks of fortune which Howell suffered would indicate that he belonged to the latter and less fortunate class, and found little aid from the influential families of whose relationship he characteristically boasts. But they undoubtedly determined the circle of friends with which he began life, and to some degree the employment in which he started. It is sufficient for our purpose to recollect that James Howell belonged by birth and kindred to the set of Welsh families introduced into English public life by the Tudors.

Of his early years little is to be gathered. In the opening Letter (of the first edition) he thanks his father for "that most indulgent and costly care you have been pleased to have had of my Breeding (tho' but one Child of *fifteen*), by placing me in a choice methodical School (so far distant from your Dwelling) under a learned (tho' *lashing*) Master; and by transplanting me thence to Oxford to be graduated." The school was Hereford grammar school, the Master one Harley.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have received a sound classical training there. Mention is made of Virgil,<sup>2</sup> Lucan, Terence, and Plautus as forming the subject of his studies.

On the 16th of June 1610, "Howell, James, Carmath., cler[ici] fil[ius], 16," of Jesus College, matriculated at Oxford (A. Clark, *Registers Matric.*, ii. 312), and on 17th Dec. 1613, he was admitted Bachelor of Arts (*ibid.*, *Degrees*, iii. 324). Of his college chums we can trace in the *Registers* T. Pritchard (ii. 317, iii. 315); Christopher Jones (ii. 298, iii. 306); James Crofts (ii. 329); Edw. Rumsey (ii. 329); and Tom Bowyer (iii. 319), all of Jesus College. The only

<sup>1</sup> Payne Fisher in the Latin poem prefixed to Howell's *Poems*. Suppt. No. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Under the curious form "Flacci Epos," see note on p. 689.

recollection.

recollection given of his school or 'Varsity days in the *Letters* is where he doubts (*infra*, p. 71) "whether I had the same identical individually numerical Body when I carried a Calf-leather Sachel to School in *Hereford*, as when I wore a Lamb-skin Hood in *Oxford*." We should remember, however, that his mother-tongue was Welsh; the need of a special College at Oxford for Welshmen was due to the fact that English had to be learned as a foreign tongue by the young Welsh students who came up to the University.<sup>1</sup> Howell is among the not small class of English writers, like the brothers Vaughan, David Hume, Hugh Miller and Prof. Bain, to whom English was originally a foreign tongue that had to be acquired consciously. His other studies at the University were of the ordinary course then pursued at the seats of learning—logic, rhetoric and mathematics—or as he puts it, "the briars of logic, the fields of philosophy and the mathematics" (p. 433).

One of the most influential men at Jesus during Howell's undergraduate days was Dr. Francis Mansel, soon to be Principal<sup>2</sup> of the College. He was a Carmarthenshire man, and probably Howell had known him "at home." His brother, Sir Robert Mansel, was perhaps the most prominent of the sea-dogs that succeeded the school of Drake. During the peace with Spain, Sir Robert amused his leisure with an attempt to introduce the Italian methods of making glass.<sup>3</sup> He had acquired rights in a patent for "making glass with pit-coal" (instead of wood), which became in 1615 one of the monopolies for which James I.'s reign was notorious. Sir Robert was destined to spend some £30,000 on this business, an enormous sum in those days. He had just started a factory at Broad Street, with Italian workmen

<sup>1</sup> The poets Vaughan only spoke Welsh in their youth (*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii. pp. 298-9).

<sup>2</sup> See notes on I. i. 3, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Mansel fills a considerable space in Hondoy, *Les Verreries*, cxxxviii.-xl. trying

trying the new methods, and Howell's first employment<sup>1</sup> in life was as steward to this glass-house in Broad Street. Curiously enough, some of the glass made at the factory was unearthed some years ago during some excavations in Broad Street, and specimens were exhibited before the Archæological Institute, and described in the *Journal*.<sup>2</sup>

Howell did not find his post as Steward of the Glass-house very congenial to him, though he began his career as a practical philologist by picking up the rudiments of Italian from the Venetian workmen. He also laid the foundation of a lasting friendship with the Altham family in Bishops-gate. He seems, too, to have sown his wild oats in company with a college chum, Dan. Caldwell, his brother-in-law Jack Toldervy, and another Jesus man, Tom Bowyer, afterwards to be Captain Bowyer. Casual references to merry times at the Fleece in Cornhill indicate Howell's capacity for enjoyment and vivid interest in the new life that was opening out before him.

Still wider was the opening that presented itself to Howell after a few months of his stewardship. The enterprise on which Mansel was engaged needed a regular supply of workmen from Venice, and of the alkali known as "baryllia" from Alicant in Spain.<sup>3</sup> Howell was selected by him as a travelling agent to make arrangements for these two needs, and the first section of the *Letters* deal with his grand tour in search of them.

In the spring of 1617, so far as can be ascertained,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is some indication of his having studied at the Temple, in a letter to Caldwell (I. i. 6, p. 27, last line).

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Arch. Instit.*, xxx. 204, xxxi. 108. The pieces seem to bear a resemblance in shape to those reintroduced to London of recent years by Dr. Salviati.

<sup>3</sup> See note on p. 60, and the elaborate note D of the *Biog. Brit.*, s. v. *Howell, James*.

<sup>4</sup> The dates in the *Letters* themselves are perfectly untrustworthy, as we shall see, *infra*, p. lxxiii.-vi. I have therefore been obliged to make my own chronological scheme, which is, roughly: Section I. 1617-20, Holland, France, Spain, Italy; II. 1620-22, St. Osyth, and Tour with Altham; III. 1622-24, Spanish Match; IV. 1624-27, London and York; V. 1627-32, York and London; VI. 1632-45, Embassy to Denmark; Intelligencer and Fleet Prison.

Howell

Howell started from Gravesend for Amsterdam. He was "pitifully sick all the voyage, for the weather was rough and the wind untowards," but soon recovered, and began his peregrination through Holland, with a view to learning, not Dutch, as might be thought, but French (p. 27). He was struck by the cleanliness of the Dutch, a virtue which, it is said, they invented, and took note of their learning; but otherwise does not seem to have been much impressed by the Low Countries, even though they were then at the acme of their culture and influence. So on to Paris, then, according to Howell, the filthiest city in Christendom, *vid* Leyden, The Hague, Middleborough, Antwerp, and Rouen—a curious route. There is extremely little in the letters from Paris<sup>1</sup> about the town itself or its inhabitants, and it is somewhat difficult to guess what Howell was at in his travels through the Low Countries to Paris. From a reference at the beginning of Letter XVI., it would seem that his expenses were paid for by the Glass-house authorities,<sup>2</sup> yet it is difficult to see what purpose of that establishment he could serve by his travels.<sup>3</sup> It would seem as if Sir Robert Mansel, finding him too young for the stewardship at Broad Street, had determined to give him the general education and fitness for the position which extended travel would produce.<sup>4</sup>

After a couple of months' stay in Paris he started for Spain by the somewhat roundabout route of going to St. Malo. Here he hoped to find a vessel to carry him round by water. A touch of local patriotism peeps out in his visit to Brittany, when he discovers the resemblance of the

<sup>1</sup> I. i. 16–19, pp. 42–53.

<sup>2</sup> Captain F. Bacon, who sends the Bills of Exchange (p. 42), had succeeded Howell as Steward of the Glass-house (p. 27).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly he may have been sent to Holland to secure the services of one of the Miotti family, the chief glass-workers of the time. He meets with one at Middleborough, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Howell says expressly (p. 103); "I shall ever acknowledge a good part of my education from him."

local *patois* to Welsh. Failing to take ship at St. Malo, he proceeds leisurely, *vid* Bordeaux and Toulouse, over the Pyrenees to Barcelona, where he arrived in the autumn of 1617. In Spain he remains for nearly a year, visiting in succession Barcelona, Valencia, and Alicant. At the last-named place we find him at last doing business for the Glass-house, making arrangement for a consignment of £2000 worth of baryllia, one of the chief ingredients used by the Venetians in making their glass.

After spending a whole year in Spain, Howell took sail in a Dutchman for Italy, and seems to have coasted along the north shore of the Mediterranean, passing through Scylla and Charybdis, and, if we may judge by casual references,<sup>1</sup> landing in Sicily. After a toilsome voyage, he arrives before Venice in the autumn of 1618, but had to undergo a month's quarantine before landing. Here at Venice he "apply'd himself to dispatch your [Sir R. Mansel's] business according to instructions" (p. 65), by forwarding him two skilled Italian workmen, one of them a member of the Miotti family, the chief repositories of the trade secrets of glass manufacture. Venice made upon Howell the deepest impression of all the towns he visited on the Continent.

Having executed the main object of his travels by arranging for the Barillia at Alicant and for the workmen at Venice, Howell seems to have thrown off his connection with Sir Robert Mansel, and for a time travelled aimlessly through Italy, visiting, as he says (p. 93), "Venice the Rich, Padua the Learned, Bologna the Fat, Rome the Holy,<sup>2</sup> Naples the Gentle, Genoa the Proud, Florence the Fair, and Milan the Great," whence he came to Turin and prepared to scale the Alps, those "uncouth, huge, monstrous excrescences of Nature," as he calls them. Howell seems

<sup>1</sup> See notes on p. 66, 344.

<sup>2</sup> This was against the direct prohibition of his warrant to travel, which forbade any visit to Rome or St. Omers, the chief centres of Romanist travel. See note on p. 22.

to have tramped all the way from Turin across the Alps to Lyons, returning with a band of French pilgrims to Rome. At Lyons, however, he fell in with a countryman of his (*i.e.* a Welshman), one Lewis, whom he had known at Alicant, and by whom he was provided with cash. He started for home, making a detour to see Geneva, the head centre of Calvinism, and sailing down the Loire and Seine, reached Gravesend in the winter of 1620.<sup>1</sup> His privations had told upon him, and he arrived in London insensible, and had to be tended by his brother Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, who was at that time Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

When he recovered under the care of the great Harvey, Howell had to look about him for employment. Sir Robert Mansel was at sea, and it was doubtful how far the costly experiment of glass-making would be carried on. Howell applied for the post of Secretary to Sir John Eyre, the Ambassador at Constantinople, but he had been anticipated.

From this dilemma Howell was released by the action of Sir James Croft, his father's firm friend and a man of much influence. He recommended the young Welshman as travelling tutor to the two sons of Sir Thomas Savage, son-in-law of Lord Darcy of Chiche (St. Osyth) in Essex. He accordingly spent the summer of 1621 in Essex, either at Long Melford near Sudbury, the seat of Sir Thomas Savage, or at St. Osyth, that of Lord Darcy, who that summer became Viscount Colchester, and later on blossomed into Earl Rivers. Howell gives an interesting and pleasing picture of a well-appointed country house in Jacobean England (I. ii. 8, p. 106). He remained with his young pupils (one of whom, John, was to succeed to the titles of his grandfather) till the end of 1621, but declined to escort them on

<sup>1</sup> I take the forty months of *Foreign Travell*, p. 80, to represent Howell's own experience of the grand tour. The reference to Cadenet's having arrived in I. ii. 1, fixes the *terminus ad quem* of the first tour of Howell.



the grand tour as they were Roman Catholics, and a difference of creed between "governor" and pupils would be more embarrassing abroad. Nor did he care to spend another three years on the Continent.<sup>1</sup>

Howell accepted, however, a proposal to go abroad for a trip with young Richard Altham, one of the Althams of Bishopsgate, whom he had learned to know during his stewardship in Broad Street. They seem to have started in the winter of 1621, and were away till the beginning of the following year. The route seems to have been Trevere, The Hague, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Poissy, Orleans, and home again *via* Paris. While at Poissy Howell overworked himself by setting himself too great a number of books to read through, and brought on a recurrence of the imposthume that had caused him so much inconvenience on his return from his first tour. The resulting illness was serious, lasting six weeks, a length due, perhaps, to the remedy employed, if it is true, as he states, that he "parted with above fifty ounces [of blood] in less than a fortnight" (p. 136).

Thus at the beginning of 1622 we find Howell once more in England and once more without employment. Here again fortune favoured him. He found waiting for him an enterprise which ultimately brought him in contact with public life, and, what is more important for us, caused him to be the spectator and historian of one of the most romantic episodes in English history, the journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid, and the final breaking off of the Spanish Match. It came about in this way. An English merchantman in the Levant trade, named the *Vineyard*, and belonging to some London merchants, was forced by stress of weather into a port of Sardinia, which at that time belonged to Spain. The Sardinian authorities found the cargo very valuable—worth £30,000, says Howell—and on the pretext that she was carrying war material to

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<sup>1</sup> See I. iii. 2, p. 145.

the Grand Turk, against the maritime regulations of the time, seized her and her goods as contraband. The Turkey merchants of London to whom the *Vineyard* belonged determined to appeal to the Spanish Court against this high-handed proceeding, and for some time the affair of the *Vineyard* was a standing order in every Spanish Ambassador's instructions who left London for Madrid. On his appointment in the early part of 1622, Lord John Digby (soon to be Earl of Bristol) suggested to the merchants who were interested in the *Vineyard*, among them Sir R. Napier and Captain Leat, that they should send an agent who should solely devote himself to so important a matter, and, he did not add, relieve himself of a very troublesome business. Howell seemed specially suited for this position, owing to his previous long residence in Spain, as likewise that he would be content to undertake the affair on the speculation of only getting his expenses if he failed, and the moderate fee of ten per cent. if he succeeded.<sup>1</sup>

Howell did not start, as he had intended, with Lord Digby. It appears that his friend Altham and he had an altercation with some serjeants in Lombard Street, which detained him—he is not very explicit how—for three weeks after the Ambassador. Young blood will out, and a parting dinner at the Fleece or the Ship would not have an appropriate ending unless after an interview with the serjeants of Lombard Street and their superiors.

Arrived in Spain, Howell is able to present himself at Court at the first interview of Lord Digby and Philip IV. Howell himself is somewhat of an accredited representative, since James I. took up the case of the *Vineyard*, and Howell had kissed hands on appointment (p. 152). At first all goes well, so well indeed that the sanguine Welshman reckons up the quarter of a million crowns which the award in favour of his patrons will come to, counting principal and interest

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<sup>1</sup> I deduce this from H.'s expression "it is like to be out of my way £3000" (p. 193).

and

and processal charges (p. 154). The chief delinquent, Conde del Real, the former Sardinian Viceroy, who had seized the ship, was at Madrid and attachable, being Major Domo to the Infante, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. Matters got so far, thanks to Howell's introduction with Olivares, the all-powerful minister of Philip IV., that referees were nominated (p. 156), a warrant was granted against Conde del Real (p. 163), who began to make overtures for a compromise, and Howell made preparations to go over to Sardinia (pp. 161, 162), where he had obtained a concession for shipping corn duty free (p. 167).

Suddenly a new complexion was put upon the negotiations about the *Vineyard* affair, as well as all others, by the unexpected appearance of Prince Charles and Buckingham at the Earl of Bristol's house in Madrid on Friday, March 7, 1623. In reality the relations of the two Courts were made more difficult by the romantic yet foolhardy journey, as Howell was soon to find out. Having so much to ask from the Spanish king, Charles and his advisers did not wish to be under an obligation to him in the *Vineyard* affair; at least that is how I interpret Cottington's intervention in the affair (p. 167), with directions not to proceed further till after Charles's departure. Howell had accordingly nothing to do but look on at the Court merrymakings, the ups and downs of the negotiations for the match, and make acquaintance with the Prince's retinue, some of whom, *e.g.*, Sir Kenelm Digby, became his fast friends. The delays of the Junta and of the Pope, the dispensation and the proxy, the bull-fights and the visits to notable sights, all pass before us in the Letters, and form their most important portion as historical documents.

The match was broken off, and all hope of recovering the £30,000 of the *Vineyard* was gone; so Howell determined to come home with the convoy that took charge of the jewels (valued at 400,000 crowns) which Charles had intended to present to the Infanta. In company with Mr. (afterwards Sir Peter) Wych he made a five days' journey from

from Madrid to Bilboa, and thence by sea to Plymouth in October 1624.

For the third time in his short life of thirty years our wandering stone had been dislodged from his resting-place. Here he was again in London as a sturdy rogue and vagabond, without visible means of subsistence. It is true that during his absence in Spain his old College at Oxford had elected him fellow (see Doc. xl.), but the foundation was not rich, and the glorious institution of non-resident fellowships was not then in existence. He had gained some friends and patrons, but the chief of them, Bristol, was out of favour at Court from the time of his return from Spain, and was soon to be banished to his place at Sherburne. Howell seems to have hung about the Court in the spirit and probably with the spirits of Mr. Micawber.

Any hopes of advancement from King James died away with his death in the following spring of 1625. Buckingham practically succeeded to the throne, and seems to have taken a dislike to Howell, as of the party of his chief rival, Bristol. To the application of some of his friends to make Howell a fourth secretary (p. 223), Buckingham replied, with some wit and more force, that he was "too much Digbyfied," and Howell was left with nothing better to do than teach Spanish to the Marchioness of Winchester, sister of his old pupils the Savages. Meanwhile he took occasion to visit his father in Wales, and his mother, as he calls his University of Oxford, where Charles's first Parliament was sitting, August 1626, to avoid the plague, then raging in London.

It was also doubtless during this period that the only incident in Howell's life recorded by another took place, if it did ever take place.<sup>1</sup> Sir Kenelm Digby in his description of his powder of sympathy, which cures wounds telepathetically

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lee, D.N.B. s.v. Howell, places the incident in Spain, but the reference to "the court" negatives the possibility of this.

(it was published as late as 1658), claims Howell as his first "subject," and reports that he had been wounded in trying to interfere in a duel between two of his friends, and that he had been cured by the garter which had dressed his wound being placed during Howell's absence in Sir Kenelm's magic powder.<sup>1</sup> Howell indeed mentions the prevalence of duels among his friends (see p. 284), but says nothing of his presence or interference, still less of his being wounded in one of them. Yet Sir Kenelm's account was published during Howell's lifetime, and was, according to Aubrey, even put into English by him from the original French.

For these two years (1624-26) we have nothing very definite about Howell's doings; indeed, after his second return from Spain there is a marked reticence in Howell's references to his doings in the Letters. From a document I have printed from the Record Office (Doc. i.), it would appear that it was part of Howell's work in life to keep an eye on suspicious characters. In 1627, it would seem<sup>2</sup> negotiations were entered into with Howell on behalf of what may be called the Foreign Office of the period, with regard to a post of "travelling agent" in Italy. This was, in fact, nothing more or less than a post as political spy, one of some difficulty, delicacy, and danger, which would not have been too highly paid at the rate of £400 a year, which Howell demanded for it. The negotiations broke off on this issue, which makes one suspect they were only entered into to escape the importunities of our not over-modest hero, who, according to his own account, even dared to suggest to Buckingham that he would do well to organise his establishment at York House better, the suggestion evidently being that he, Howell, might be of use in the said organisation.

Everything comes to him who waits and asks. So after

<sup>1</sup> See Suppt. II. No. xxii. and notes.

<sup>2</sup> Conway only became Lord Conway in that year; see note on p. 239.

more than two years' weary waiting, Howell's importunities at Court were rewarded with the post of Secretary to Lord Scrope (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), who had been appointed Lord President of the North.<sup>1</sup> This turned out to be a snug thing, "a fee from the King, diet for myself and two servants, livery for a horse, and a part of the King's house for a lodging." He seems to have made himself popular in Yorkshire, for at the election of 1627 he was elected M.P. for Richmond in that county, even against the candidature of a man of considerable influence, Christopher Wandsford, who was supported by the powerful Wentworth. Howell does not seem to have made any figure in Parliament, no record existing of his having ever spoken. He promised his constituents to follow faithfully the lead of the senior member of the borough, Sir Talbot Bows, in anything relating to its interests: "this," he adds, "I take to be the true duty of a Parliamentary Burgess, without roving at random to generals" (p. 250).

For the next few years our notices of him are very scanty, though judging from the Letters which may be ascribed to that time he must have been much up in London. During some of these visits he made acquaintance with Ben Jonson, whom he calls father. He seems to have enrolled himself of the Tribe of Ben, who gathered round the chief of their clan at the Old Devil, and formed the first of those literary courts that have had so much influence on our literature. He again resumed, on these visits to London, his intercourse with Dan Caldwell and Jack Toldervy, though the latter's bacchanalian indulgence shocked the now staid M.P. and Secretary to the President of the North.

He was not destined, however, to retain his Secretaryship long. He had the ill-luck or the bad judgment to choose unlucky patrons. Bristol was in disgrace, and now the Earl

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<sup>1</sup> He had possibly been recommended by his friend Dr. Prichard, as he was summoned to Worcester House (p. 242, *cf.* p. 131).

of Sunderland fell ill, and Lord Wentworth, now reconciled to the King and preparing for a thorough policy, succeeded him as Lord President of the North in the autumn of 1628. Some compensation was made to Howell by Sunderland, who gave him the advowson of Hambledon, which, with characteristic generosity, he offered to his brother (p. 266). Wentworth also dismissed him civilly with the presentation to the next Attorney's place at York (pp. 275 and 649), which brought Howell in £100 or so.

Though his official connection with the Earl of Sunderland was thus at an end, he seems to have continued to act for him as a kind of private secretary and "odd man." Sunderland had given up the Presidency of the North as much from ill-health as anything,<sup>1</sup> and he remained under the doctor's care till his death in 1630, during which time Howell appears to have acted for him in various matters of business, and even saw to the burial of the Earl's mother, the Dowager Lady Scrope (p. 274).

Again a two years' blank occurs in our knowledge of Howell's doings after the death of Sunderland in 1630. Then we have full details of an episode which evidently shone out in our hero's recollection as the height of his achievements. In 1632 the Queen-Dowager of Denmark, James I.'s mother-in-law and Charles I.'s grandmother, had died with very great savings, "so that she was reputed the richest Queen in Christendom" (p. 288). The Earl of Leicester was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to condole with the King of Denmark and put in a claim for a share in the late Queen's dollars. The condolence, being the ostensible object, had to be expressed in suitable language—in other words, the mission would not be complete without an orator to do the official grief in Latin. To his evident delight, Howell was selected as orator and secretary to the embassy.

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<sup>1</sup> So I judge from the expressions on p. 274; but the letter is evidently "cooked." See Notes.

The embassy occupied some two and a half months, and is fully described in the Letters as in a Latin account by Howell which I discovered in the Bodleian and have printed in the Supplement to the Letters (pp. 651-3). Howell had also the necessary arrangements to make for the voyage, and letters are still extant (Suppt. II. Nos. xxiii-xxvi.) exchanged between him and Sir John Pennington, the captain entrusted with the transport of the ambassador's train. Starting from Margate on September 12, on the 18th Pennington landed Howell at Brusbüttel, who secured lodgings for his lordship at Gluckstadt. From here Howell journeyed to Hamburg to cash some bills of exchange, and returned to Rensburgh, where the King now was. Here he had the honour to deliver no less than three consolatory speeches in Latin to the King and his two sons. Then to business, which lasted about a month, during which a considerable quantity of liquor must have been consumed, as at one banquet of the King's, lasting from eleven till evening, no less than thirty-five healths were drunk.

"A custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance."<sup>1</sup>

The Earl of Leicester showed his superiority by drinking the toasts and yet managing to reach his lodgings without the help of the King's guard, two of whom offered him their arms (p. 295). The King, according to Howell, had to be carried off in his chair. One suspects a certain amount of prejudice against a king of whom Howell reports that he did not "part with presents" (p. 295).

From Rensburgh to Gothorp, to give Howell another opportunity for a Latin speech to the Duke of Holstein, a grandson of Queen Sophia: "our entertainment there was brave, tho' a little fulsome." Thence to Husem, where Howell succeeded in drawing tears from the Duchess of

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<sup>1</sup> It is likely enough that Shakespeare was pointing at such Danish customs in the carousal scene, *Hamlet*, i. 3.



Holstein. So back to Rensburgh, Hamburg, and Brusbüttel, where Pennington re-shipped them on November 22, 1632, and safely landed them on the 30th. They brought with them the news of Gustavus Adolphus's death, and Howell found on his arrival that his father had died during his absence. The letter his son writes at the news (I. vi. 7, p. 306) is a pleasing exhibition of a good father appreciated by a good son.

Some time after his return from Denmark, Howell was on the look-out for a fixed employment in some office of State, but in vain. His importunities seem to have set the permanent officials against him. In a letter I have unearthed from the Record Office, his brother Thomas, afterwards the Bishop of Bristol, desires Secretary Windebank not to be prejudiced against him, Thomas, because of his brother's urgencies. In this, as subsequently in the escape of Dr. Howell from the clutches of the Commons (Doc. No. xxix.), we have an interesting contrast of the successful sneak and the ill luck of the more open nature. Howell probably never knew of this unkind intervention of his brother, and we find him kind to the Bishop's children up to the day of his death.

This embassy to Denmark is almost the last glimpse we get of any visible means of subsistence for James Howell, who gives us little or no information as to his sources of income or actual work for the next ten years. It is not difficult, I fancy, to fill up the gap, and by so doing explain Howell's reticence in speaking of this part of his life, especially under the circumstances under which his book was first published. As early as 1625 we find a letter of his in the Record Office giving information to the Government of a dangerous "pragmatical" fellow. In the *Stafford Letters* for 1635 there is a whole series from Howell giving the news of the day to Wentworth while in Ireland and carrying the policy of thorough in its full vigour. We hear of sudden missions to Orleans (p. 321), and later on to Ruelle to see Richelieu (p. 352); and when Wentworth

is preparing the final *coup* of the Army of the North, we have Howell summoned to him at Dublin and dispatched to Edinburgh at the meeting of the Scots Parliament (I. vi. 34-38) in 1639. Hopes were held out to him by Wentworth of a clerkship to the Irish Council, and by Charles himself of the succession to Sir Edward Nicholas's place as Clerk of the Privy Council. But meanwhile Howell's work as "travelling agent" or as "intelligencer," or whatever other name he chose to disguise his calling, was too well done for his masters to exchange the fidelity of expectation for the sluggishness of gratitude. There can be little doubt that during the ten years 1632-42 Howell was nothing more or less than a Royalist spy, not to put too fine a point on it. Hence the rancour with which he was ultimately dealt with by the Parliamentarians; hence the reticence with which he speaks of the period; hence the paucity of letters dealing with it, which had either been destroyed by Howell or seized by the Parliamentarians.

When the Civil War broke out, Howell's functions became at once more important and more dangerous. He appears to have been sent on a secret mission to Richelieu, and speaks vaguely of the promises held out to him by the great minister. But his prospects at home were at last brightening. Charles at last gave way to his importunity, and on August 30, 1642, two days after the Royal Standard had been planted as a sign of war, James Howell was sworn in as an extra Clerk of the Council at Nottingham,<sup>1</sup> and the King promised him the very next post that should become vacant. Thus, to all appearance, was James Howell safely landed in a harbour of safety. At the mature age of forty-nine he had at last some prospects of a permanent position in life in a congenial employment for which his talents and experience exactly suited him.

<sup>1</sup> Howell himself says at York (*infra*, p. 667), but I give the entry from the Privy Council Minutes (*infra*, p. 657), which shows that he is mistaken. I have to thank Sir Chas. Lenox Peel, the present Clerk to the Council, for permission to search the Minute Books.

Alas for the fleeting hopes of man! Howell, though he knew it not, was going to be settled for life in quite a different position to that which he contemplated. A couple of months after his appointment his active career as a man of affairs<sup>1</sup> was suddenly put an end to. As he tells the story himself (p. 355), he had "lately come up to London; . . . but one morning betimes there rushed into my chamber five Armed Men, with Swords, Pistols, and Bills, and told me they had a Warrant from the Parliament for me. . . . So they rush'd presently into my Closet and seiz'd on all my Papers and Letters, and anything that was Manuscript, . . . and hurl'd all into a great hair Trunk, which they carry'd away with them. . . . They suffer'd me to stay in my Chamber with two Guards upon me till the evening, at which time they brought me before the Committee for Examination, where I confess I found good respect; And being brought up to the Close Committee, I was order'd to be forthcoming, till some Papers of mine were perus'd, and *Mr. Corbet* was appointed to do it. Some days after I came to *Mr. Corbet*, and he told me he had perused them, and could find nothing that might give offence. Hereupon I desir'd him to make a report to the House, according to which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet such was my hard hap, that I was committed to the *Fleet*, where I am now under close restraint." This passage is of crucial importance, both as giving the crisis of Howell's life and as throwing light on the question of the authenticity of his Letters, which will later concern us. Meanwhile let us remark that it is fully confirmed by the entry in the Commons Journals under date 14th Nov. 1642, "that Mr. James Howell be forthwith committed to the Fleet, there to remain during the Pleasure of the House." The displeasure of the House lasted eight years,<sup>2</sup> and can have been

<sup>1</sup> Pryne, *infra*, p. 682, reports that he was engaged in the battle of Edgehill. H. says nothing of this himself, and was scarcely likely to do so while he was in the power of the Parliamentarians.

<sup>2</sup> See Howell's own statement, p. 667.

earned by no trivial cause.<sup>1</sup> At any rate, the entry in the Commons Journal is sufficient by itself to disprove Anthony à Wood's malicious assertion that he was cast into the Fleet for debt. It is perhaps worth while remarking that the order of the House was issued just two days after "the assault was intended to the City," and Charles, though he knew it not, had his last chance. The irritation against the King's adherents and instruments would be at its strongest just at that time.

When once the gates of the Fleet had closed upon James Howell in his fiftieth year, his life as a man practically ends. Henceforth it is as an author that he interests us. Leaving for a later division of this Introduction the multitudinous literary productions of Howell during his confinement in the Fleet and afterwards, we may rapidly and roughly run through the few remaining external events of his life, including the few occasions when his literary work attracted attention to himself personally.

Just as Howell was being cast into the Fleet a book of his on foreign travel had been published by Humphrey Moseley, the chief publisher of the period,<sup>2</sup> who was to be the means of providing employment for our hero during his incarceration, and for years afterwards. After a long life as a travelling agent Howell was destined, at the age of fifty, to learn new paces as a publisher's hack. Almost all his works were published by Moseley, and were suggested by that general purveyor of literature. In after-years Sir Roger L'Estrange had the laugh of Howell by pointing out the number of coats he turned in the trying and troublesome times between the Long Parliament and the Restoration. But the probability is that his tone was dictated by Moseley, though Howell, of course, is equally responsible for opinions published under his name (or with his initials). At an early

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that the letter of a Royalist spy signed J. H., and dated June 11, 1642, may be by Howell. See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 87-9.

<sup>2</sup> On him see Masson, *Life of Milton*, iii. 448-59; vi. 400-403.

stage we find Howell put to defence by the redoubtable William Prynne, who published a couple of tracts on the matter in 1644.<sup>1</sup> It says something for Howell's general character that even the rancorous Prynne speaks in respectful terms of the imprisoned Cavalier.

Of his life in the Fleet we get a few glimpses in the *Letters*. He walked at times the long galleries; he was visited by his friends, or even made new ones among his fellow-prisoners. At first he was brought low by a severe attack of prison-fever (p. 421), but his buoyant nature bore up against this, and it only gave him occasion to indite a mock will, leaving all he had to leave—his intellect and heart—to various of his friends. He had the annoyance of seeing other prisoners released from the remaining prisons (p. 424). Yet all these and other disappointments from treacherous friends, like T. P. (p. 503), were unable to depress his spirits, and if he broods on his imprisonment, it is only in order to turn out such a mock epitaph as this (p. 431):—

*"Here lies entomb'd a walking thing  
Whom Fortune (with the States)<sup>2</sup> did fling  
Between these walls. Why? Ask not that;  
That blind Whore does she knows not what."*

At last his patience was rewarded, and in the general amnesty of 1650 Howell was included and released from the Fleet. Yet even then his case was regarded as so serious that bail was demanded for his good behaviour, and his recognisances were not released from their responsibility till the last year of Cromwell's life, seven years later.<sup>3</sup>

How, where, and from what he lived during the succeeding ten years (1650–60) is by no means clear, either from his own statement or from any contemporary record. Con-

<sup>1</sup> See *Bibl. Hist.*, vol. viii.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the Commons and the State reasons for his incarceration.

<sup>3</sup> I deduce this from Howell's own statement of his case to Charles II. (Suppt. No. xvii. p. 667).

sidering the large amount of printed matter he poured forth during this time, there is some probability in Wood's statement, that "tho' several of them are meer scribbles, yet they brought him in a comfortable subsistence." The last letter of the Fourth Part of the *Epistolæ*, published in 1655, is dated from Holborn, in which district he died eleven years later, so it is probable that he lived at the house of the lawyer Leigh and afterwards of his widow for the remainder of his life.<sup>1</sup>

As regards his attitude towards public affairs during all this time there are somewhat conflicting accounts. After the Restoration disappointed Cavaliers like Sir Roger L'Estrange taunted Howell with having "ratted" to the other side during the eclipse of the Cavaliers.<sup>2</sup> And, indeed, we do find a curious vacillation in Howell's attitude towards the chief power in the State during the memorable twenty years 1640-60. He had the courage to dedicate the first collection of his Letters in 1645 to Charles I., yet in the Second Book there is a letter (No. lxiii.) apologising for the lukewarm tone of his *Parables*, published in 1647. He speaks cynically enough of the martyrdom of Charles I. as curing the country of the "King's evil" (Contents, ed. 1650), yet it is probable that the verses signed J. H. and attached to *Εἰκὼν βασιλική* were by Howell.<sup>3</sup> He writes of the Preheminence of Parliament, and yet approves of Cromwell's dictatorship, dedicating to him his *Sober Inspections* as a sort of Charles Martel and a Hercules. His Dedications vary between the Duke of York (vol. ii. of *Letters*), Charles Prince of Wales (*Foreign Travel, Lustra*), The Parliament (*S.P.Q.V.*), and Cromwell (*Sober Inspections*). He peti-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. end of Doc. xv., and Howell's Will. Earlier in life he had lived in St. Martin's Lane (Docs. ii. and iii.).

<sup>2</sup> L'Estrange's *Modest Plea*, 1661, pp. 31 to the end, has some interesting extracts, entitled "Notes upon Mr. James Howell, &c."

<sup>3</sup> And not by John Hewitt, the Royalist martyr, executed for conspiring against Cromwell in 1658. So Mr. Lee at end of his article on Howell in D. N. B.

tions the Council of State for literary employment (Suppt. No. xiii.), and applies to Selden, the storehouse of Republican learning, for permission to present him with his works (*Ibid.* No. xii.).<sup>1</sup> Yet it was probably no conversion to Republican views that led him to seek acquaintance with Selden. The industrious Howell was hoping to adapt Selden's *Mare Clausum* to the new circumstances of the war with Holland, and approached the great scholar to get his permission and help. But the great scholar was man of the world as well as student of books, and the result was the issue of an English translation of the *Mare Clausum*, but not by James Howell.<sup>2</sup>

There is thus abundant evidence of a certain amount of *rapprochement* on the part of Howell with the Parliamentary part, yet not so much more than any unprejudiced Englishman of even Royalist sympathies might have made as the need of a settled government became apparent. Howell's fault as a practical politician was not going far enough. He eulogised Cromwell, yet he had the hardihood to suggest that the best solution of the situation just before his death would be to arrange for the succession of Charles II.<sup>3</sup> Altogether, it is clear that we have not to deal in Howell's case with any Athanasian rigidity of conviction on the politics of his day. Nor need we apply any lofty ethic norm to adjudge of his vacillations. He belonged to the class, so numerous in our days, only just coming into existence in his, whose function in political matters is to express, excite, and simulate conviction, not necessarily to feel it. If we do not too harshly condemn the journalist who votes Radical and writes Tory, we need not waste our denuncia-

<sup>1</sup> One of the books thus given to Selden is in the Bodleian: it is dated 1652, which enables us to date the two documents in the Supplement.

<sup>2</sup> He did not lose his interest in the book, however. After the Restoration he made the necessary alterations in the Dedication, which was to Parliament in the "fifties," to Charles II. in the "sixties" (Lowndes).

<sup>3</sup> That is, if my attribution of *An Admonition*, by J. H. (B. L. No. 47), be correct.

tions

tions on James Howell for changing his published opinion on politics according to his personal needs or the changes of public opinion around him.

After Cromwell's death Howell turned more definitely towards the direction from which, after all, his views had only occasionally wandered, a moderate Monarchy. He also, probably, reverted to his old trade of Royalist Intelligencer or spy. For just on the eve of the Restoration we find him reporting on the condition of things in London to Sir Edward Walker at the English Court in Brussels (Suppt. No. xv.). And after the Restoration we find him greeting Monk as "the temporal Redeemer of this land."<sup>1</sup>

Almost as soon as Charles II. had landed there was a rush for the spoils on behalf of all the dispossessed Cavaliers. Those martyrs for the royal cause sought for earthly crowns to console them for their past afflictions. Among the most assiduous applicants was James Howell, now an old man of nearly sixty-six years. Within a year of Charles' return we find him applying to be restored as Clerk of the Council, or to be appointed Secretary to the Royal Commission on Trade, or to be appointed English tutor to the Portuguese Princess whom Charles had chosen for Queen.<sup>2</sup> He was successful in none of these applications, probably on account of his age. But he did not desist from applications, and the result proved the wisdom of his persistence. In a further petition, still preserved in the University library at Cambridge,<sup>3</sup> he pointed out that "among the prudentst and best policed nations there is a Minister of State appointed and qualified with the title of Historiographer Generall," the obvious inference being that the author of histories of France, of Naples, and of Venice would be a most appropriate holder of such an office. At last he got the King and his advisers to share his own views as to his capabilities.

He was appointed Historiographer Royal "primus in

<sup>1</sup> B. L. No. 56.

<sup>2</sup> See Suppt. Nos. xvii. to xix.

<sup>3</sup> See Suppt. II. No.



Anglia," his monument proudly declares with the usual amount of monumental veracity,<sup>1</sup> and a grant of £200 was docketed at the Exchequer "as of his ma<sup>ties</sup> free guift" in Feb. 1661<sup>2</sup>. For the remaining five years of his life he held the even tenor of his way, producing book after book and being tended in all comfort by Mrs. Leigh and her daughter Edith at his lodgings against the Pye Inn in Fetter Lane, Holborn.<sup>3</sup>

Only one incident in his career needs a further reference. No sooner was Howell comfortably settled himself than he turned round rather unreasonably on the remaining crowd of esurient and expectant Cavaliers and advised them to wait in his *Cordial for the Cavaliers*. Sir Roger L'Estrange, not unjustly incensed at this piece of gratuitous impudence brought forth his own *Cordial for the Cavaliers*, in which he answered Howell with some spirit and force, and on Howell's rejoinder with *Some Sober Inspections*, returned to the charge with his *Modest Plea* and pointed out in an Appendix Howell's own failings with regard to political patience and constancy. Howell was undoubtedly in the wrong, and practically admitted it by retiring from the conflict.

He lived through the Great Plague and the Great Fire, and died in Nov. 1666, ætat. seventy-three, after having executed his will on the 14th Oct. 1666. In this he shows that he was living in comfort, leaving some £63 in legacies, not to mention the "Thirty pounds in a white Bagg" which were to be set aside for a tomb. His will is perfectly regular and conventional in its disposition of this little property. His brother, his sisters, and some favoured nephews and nieces get legacies, his landlady and her daughter are remembered, and those who were to bury him are also named and considered.

<sup>1</sup> According to Thom's *Book of the Court*, the first Historiographer Royal was appointed by Henry VII.; the last was G. P. R. James, of "two horse-men" memory.

<sup>2</sup> Suppt. Doc. xx.

<sup>3</sup> See the address given at the end of Doc. xv. of the Suppt., and compare with the references in the Will No. xxi.

The only point in which his will differs from the stereotyped form is the evident solicitude with which Howell regarded the monument which was to be set up over his remains in the Temple church. Not only did he reserve so large a sum as £30 for this, but he "directed Mr. Marshall to sett up a large Black Marble with a Brasse Picture of mine in the Middle, with my Armes and a Latin Epitaph." Henry Howell, his nephew and executor, saw his instructions carried out, and the monument remained over Howell's remains till 1683, when it was removed to the triforium of the church, where it remains to the present day in excellent preservation. It would be a pious work to restore it to the body of the church, "Att the foote of next great Piller this side the little Quier," where Howell directed it to be placed. Meanwhile in this place a counterfeit presentment may serve, both to record his epitaph and to give an appropriate end-piece to this account of Howell's life-history.



What

What kind of man was he whose varied fortunes we have thus followed from cradle to grave? Externally we have unusual opportunities of knowing him. To the French translation of his *Dendrologia* a fine plate was prefixed, executed by Claude Melan and Bosc, and exhibiting Howell in a romantic situation, leaning in meditative fashion against an oak.<sup>1</sup> A second state of this plate was added to many of Howell's later works. Besides this, in the engraved title-page of the *Letters* there is a portrait of Howell (by Marshall), in one of the compartments, which confirms the other portrait in all essential particulars. The total impression given is that of strongly marked features, with a nose too prominent<sup>2</sup> and the bushy eyebrows of a determined character. This somewhat harsh expression is relieved by large, brilliant, yet meditative eyes. But why attempt description when the reader has before him all the materials that are accessible? In portraiture more than anything, *Definitio optima Demonstratio*. Let me add, however, that his hair was dark brown,<sup>3</sup> his height below the medium,<sup>4</sup> and the pose of the Melan figure admirably suggests the self-consciousness of the author.

Of Howell as a man his *Letters* give us plenty of opportunity for judging. If as a poet he was of the Tribe of Ben, as a man he was decidedly of the Tribe of Reuben. He never stuck long enough to one master or to one employment to win a firm position in life. He was choleric<sup>5</sup> and impulsive, too ready to offer advice to his

<sup>1</sup> The frontispiece of this volume is a reproduction. There is a second state of the plate with shorter collar and Howell's arms inserted in the place where the attendant squire and horse stand in the first state.

<sup>2</sup> The French engraver has ingeniously disguised this by turning the face upwards.

<sup>3</sup> We learn this from p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> This I conjecture from Howell's energy, his acquiescence in Bacon's dictum that Nature never put her jewels in garrets, and the evident attempt of the French artist to give an impression of height.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the *Letters* I. v. 18; II. 75.

superiors,

superiors, yet often too independent to obey their commands.<sup>1</sup> He has not the courtier's eye to guess the rising star, nor even the servant's, to know a good master when he has one. He almost invariably pays court at the wrong time or to the wrong person. In the day of patrons such a fault was fatal. Unstable as water, he could not excel.

Yet, if he was ineffective as a man of action, he was certainly successful in one of the chief branches of worldly wisdom. He could make friends and keep them. Wherever he went he seems to have added to the increasing number of those who liked him. We can trace an ever-widening circle from the old Oxford days with the Mansels, Prichard, and Caldwell, then up to Broad Street with the Althams and Savages, until at Madrid he adds the Herberts and Digbys to his list, and the time of seeking friends is almost over. Yet one more episode brings him into a new circle the centre of which is Father Ben. As years go on it is Howell's turn to be sought in friendship, and even in the Fleet young men like the Blois and Brownriggs seek him; while later Forde and Loveday approach him in their letters as the master of their craft. There must have been something eminently likeable in a nature that could attract so many men of such various types.

Both in his qualities and in his defects James Howell is thus characteristically Celtic. The brightness and vivacity, the touches of imaginative sentiment and of mild melancholy, are part of the Celt's attractiveness; his instability and want of practical discernment share the general ineffectiveness of the Celt. He was himself always conscious of his Welsh descent and proud of it. It is perhaps time that Wales, better late than never, should reciprocate that pride.

And indeed he is likeable, with all his vanity or garrulosity; or, rather, because of them the Cavalier of literary tastes finds one of its best specimens in James Howell. He

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<sup>1</sup> With both Sir Robert Mansel and Sir Thos. Savage he declines to follow orders.

was a ne'er-do-well, maybe; but he was also a ne'er-do-ill; and we are beginning to appreciate more highly those natures who do not well because they are not scheming or subservient, the men who preserve some of the ingenuousness of youth till the end. Knights of the Order of the Sun, they bring the light with them. Howell was such a knight; his bright, frank, joyous nature shines out unmistakably in his *Letters*, and is equally shown in his friendships. If the *Letters* are good literature, it is mainly because the nature they reveal is an eminently likeable one.





## II.—HOWELL'S WORKS.

*"Hoelianas vanus comprehendere chartas  
Molior, Herculeos quum tot recitare labores  
Herculeus labor alter erit."*—P. FISHER.



WHEN the gates of the Fleet closed upon Howell in 1642, his life as a man of action came to an end. Yet the remaining quarter of a century that he passed upon earth was filled with an amount of work and activity that would have sufficed to fill out a whole lifetime of a less industrious person. Howell the adventurer died in 1642, but Howell the writer practically begins his literary life in that year.<sup>1</sup> And before it closes some sixty works, ranging from mere broadsheets to bulky folios, were to leave the press with his name or initials. In an Appendix I have drawn up as complete a Bibliographical list of his productions as I could make,<sup>2</sup> and this runs to no less than seventy numbers, some of them including several works; others, however, being new editions. It would be obviously impossible to deal at any length or in detail with such a mass of printed matter, nor can I claim to have read it all with reverent attention. Yet no account of Howell or his Letters can be considered complete that did not consider his other works and their general value

<sup>1</sup> Only *Dodona's Grove* precedes 1642.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony à Wood has a very full list; Watt and Lowndes less extensive. Mr. Lee gives a classified list (mainly from Wood) in the D. N. B.

and significance. For this purpose all that will be necessary is to arrange them into convenient classes, referring to them by the short titles I have prefixed to the Bibliographical list, and placing within brackets the numbers in that list which contain in each case full bibliographical details. The *Familiar Letters* stand apart from the rest, and should be treated apart, above all in an edition of them.

The largest space in the list is filled with the POLITICAL pamphlets. Indeed, in one way or another, the majority of Howell's works are political. This is only another way of saying that Howell was a journalist of the period. The pamphlet in Stuart England took the place of the "leader" and the magazine article of to-day.<sup>1</sup> We have already discussed the variations of political opinion expressed in them.<sup>2</sup> Here we are more concerned with their literary merits or demerits, such as they are. In writings intended to impress public opinion at the time, the way in which public opinion was impressed is at least a practical test of their literary effectiveness. Some of them went through several editions. The most notable were collected twice during his lifetime—once during the Commonwealth in 1654, and again after the Restoration in 1653. They have at least the merit of clearness. Howell knew, perhaps, better than any man living in his day, how to put clearly and brightly, in readable English prose, what he had to say. And to this clearness of form there was at times boldness, if not originality, of matter. His *Patricius* (7), according to Wood, a most diligent reader of the pamphlets of the time, was the first vindication of Charles that appeared after Edgehill. Similarly with his *Sober Inspections into the late Long Parliament* (44). Sir W. Dugdale declares that he had "taken the boldness to speak more truth barefaced than any man that hath wrote since they sate." Howell

<sup>1</sup> The magnificent Thomason collection of Stuart pamphlets in the King's Library at the British Museum are a sufficient evidence of this.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. xlv.

comes off fairly in a difficult position when dealing with the *Preheminence of Parliament* (8). One of the ablest of his tracts is his *Instruments of a King* (23), when arguing soberly enough for the Royalist contention that the King should keep the sword or supreme military command. Again, the boldness of *An Inquisition after Blood* (31) is matched by the clearness of the style, but is too short and without practical bearing. The two *Admonitions* (47 and 55) are, again, bold but short.

Closely allied to the Political come the CONTROVERSIAL Pamphlets. We have already referred to the spirit with which he met the atrabilious Prynne in his *Vindication* (8), and L'Estrange in his *Sober Inspections into the Cordial* (62). It cannot be said that he comes out to much advantage in either case. He does not seem at his best in personal controversy. Besides, it is difficult to defend the sport of running with the hare and chasing with the hounds. He appears to better advantage in the *Letter to Pembroke* (20), in which he very effectively expresses the abhorrence with which the Royalist viewed the tergiversation of Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. Considering Howell's position, it is characteristic of the man that controversy fills so small a space in his literary baggage.

Of considerable interest, though not of any great literary value, are Howell's POLITICAL ALLEGORIES. It was with one of these, *Dodona's Grove* (1), that he began his literary career. Here, under the disguise of trees, he displays his historical and political knowledge in a somewhat heavy fable, which has the Biblical example of Jotham, but does not contain the same clearness, simplicity, and directness. The *genre* is, however, of some interest, as it was imitated by Harrington in his *Oceana*, and it is even possible that *Gulliver's Travels* may own in the Vocal Forest a remote progenitor.<sup>1</sup> Howell's allegory was translated into French, and had some success in that language. In England the

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<sup>1</sup> Swift probably knew the *Letters*. See note on p. 359.



*Dodona's Grove* was by far the most taking of Howell's productions with the public of the time. The first part ran through some five editions, the author kindly supplying a key to his allusions in the third. He was also encouraged to bring forth a second part, not so successful, though it was translated into French, and followed it up with a *Therologia* (58), with which this somewhat mechanical play of fancy came to an end. A whole set of *Parables* (6) was somewhat of the same type, while *A Winter Dreame* (28), *A Trance* (29), and the *Nocturnal Progress* (15) combined with the allegory the common form of a fictitious dream. The weariness produced by the whole method is indescribable. "Why can't you say your say straight out, man?" one feels tempted to say at each turn. But perhaps with contemporaries that was not so easy as it looks, and they would have the pleasure of catching the allusions without much racking of the brains. Another production of Howell's that falls into no very definite category, yet was too successful to be overlooked in even the shortest survey of his writings, was his *England's Tears* (9), a plea for peace, which was translated into Latin and Dutch.

Some of Howell's tracts, though dealing with matters of interest to the politicians of the day, were more HISTORICAL than political. Thus his *Mercurius Hibernicus* (12) is more expository than polemical on the Land of Ire, as he calls Ireland. His *Bella Scot-Anglica* (25), again, is simply an enumeration of the conflicts between England and Scotland. The *Royal Matches* (63) was merely a catchpenny foisted together in readiness for the marriage of Charles II. His short, witty, but malicious description of the *People of Scotland* was neither political nor historical, yet was probably intended to serve both ends. It became historical by being reprinted by Wilkes in No. 13 of the *North Briton* during the outcry against Bute.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Its last fate was, strange to say, to be praised, or at least only faintly damned, in the last volume of the *Scots Observer*, a paper written by Scots to Scots, for Scots—O Scots!

Howell executed a whole series of HISTORICAL DESCRIPTIONS of the countries of Europe, which would be invaluable if they had been accurate or trustworthy. But they are mostly patchwork of a gossipy kind. They deal with Venice in the *S.P.Q.V.* (38), Naples in the *Parthenopæia* (48), Hungary in the *Florus Hungaricus* (67), and the Empire in the *Discourse* (53). France was only dealt with historically in *Lustra Ludovici* (16), a somewhat elaborate history of Louis XIII.'s reign, arranged absurdly in seven "lustres," but showing some research and care. The whole series was summed up in a book of somewhat higher value, entitled *The German Diet* (43). This takes each of the great States of Europe, and gives a trial of its merits in the shape of imaginary speeches in favour of and against each country in turn. The characterisations show some knowledge and skill of delineation, and the whole gives a fair estimate of the chief nations of Europe in the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Still higher rank is taken by Howell, *Precedency* of the Kings of England (68) over those of France and Germany. This contains among other things a list of the royal forests (pp. 72-3), and a very full account of all the officers of King James' court, with their respective salaries. Here for once Howell condescends to give the names—not to quote his authorities—a list of whom, very miscellaneous in character, is appended to the book. He excuses himself from quoting exactly, as only schoolmen are so "punctual"; "but, under favour, free Historians are not tied to such a strictness": one would like to hear Prof. Gardiner on such views. Attached to the *Precedency* is a collection of gossipy anecdotes about ambassadors, many of which appear also in the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*.

Most of HOWELL'S TRANSLATIONS were of historical pieces, and fall to be treated here. The account of *Christina of*

<sup>1</sup> I have the impression that the whole is a translation or adaptation, but I have failed to find an original. Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Bk. III., must have given the hint.

*Sweden* (51) was from the French, that of the rebellion of *Massaniello* (37, 42), from the Italian, which he seems to have got in MS. from his friend Mr. Samuel Bonnel, in Jewry St. (see note on p. 638). *St. Paul's Progress* (13), from the Italian, was more in line with his political allegories; and so was the *Venice Looking-Glass* (24), also from the same language. Both these are referred to in the *Letters* (see Index), and the introductory letters to the former are included among them. The translations of the King's *Declaration* (27) into Latin and French, as well as the version from the Spanish of the *Process* (26) of A. Ascham, the English Resident at Madrid, who had been murdered, were both bits of hack-work, unworthy of serious mention.

The skill in languages shown in these translations produced other and more important fruit in Howell's PHILOGICAL works. He was certainly gifted with practical skill in tongues. He boasts that he can pray to his Maker in a different language in each day of the week (Welsh, English, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, are probably the list). He produced a *French Grammar* (70), which gave a useful list of idioms or Gallicisms. The *English Grammar* (64) which he produced for the Portuguese Infanta has a Spanish grammar as well. There is nothing particularly striking in any, so far as I could observe. Servile imitation of the current Latin grammars, with a few rules of thumb thrown in, form the staple. Howell's chief work in this direction was his *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, or English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary, a work of considerable value for obsolete words in all four languages.

Attached to the *Lexicon Tetraglotton* was a series of collections of proverbs in each of the above languages that give the book considerable value. At the end of these he gives a list of Welsh proverbs, the earliest, and till quite recently the only one in that language. And as a final supplement he had the temerity to add 500 sayings of his own, "which in tract of Time may serve as Proverbs for Posterity."

Posterity." Some of these have caught the true proverbial ring, as, e.g.:— *He may knock loudly who beareth good news. A rich fool is good for nothing but to borrow money of. The worst people have most laws. Rather than burn try a fall from the window. 'Tis further from London to Highgate than from Highgate to London.*<sup>1</sup> But they serve merely as a flagrant example of the folk-lore principle that no individual can consciously spread among the folk a new word, a new proverb, or a new custom. We may conclude this review of Howell's philological productions by the bare mention that he edited Cotgrave's French-English Dictionary (34), his edition of which is recognised to be the best. He prefaced it by a history of the French language, taken chiefly from Pasquiere's *Reserches*, and reprinted in the *Letters* (iv. 19, p. 587 seq.).

This was not the only occasion on which Howell touched up the work of others. His *Josippon* (40), or later history of the Jews, is merely a redressing of Moroyng's adaptation of Gagnier's Latin translation of the Late Hebrew abridgement of Josephus, though Howell makes no reference to his predecessor. His introductory essay has some historic interest, and is represented in the *Letters* by two essays on the contemporary Jews (I. vi. 14; II. 8). Similarly his *Londinopolis* (53) is merely an adaptation of Stow.

It remains only to add that Howell edited the posthumous remains of Sir R. Cotton (39),<sup>2</sup> and of Sir John Finett, Elizabeth's Master of the Ceremonies (50); and there is only left one more of Howell's prose works to be dealt with. His *Instructions for Foreign Travel* (4) comes next to the *Letters* in value, both in point of style and of matter. Here Howell's large experience stood him in good stead, and in the first edition (which did not deal with the Levant) he was mainly giving advice which his own travels had

<sup>1</sup> Imitated from *Il y a plus de Monmartre à Paris que de Paris à Monmartre*, which Howell must have come across in Moryson's *Itinerary*, iii. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Forster points out that he includes by mistake a speech of Sir John Elliot's. *Eliot*, vol. i. p. 284.

taught himself.<sup>1</sup> The book may still be read with interest, and has been reprinted by Professor Arber. The bulk of it occurs in one way or another in the *Letters*.

Of Howell's POETRY it is almost sufficient to say that it proves he was no poet. His lines are at best those of a practised versifier. There is something of the conceits of Donne's school, with an aping of the more varied versification of Waller's. He was of the band who surrounded Ben Jonson at the Devil's Inn, but except for the personal contact, he has but little claim to be enrolled in the Tribe of Ben. The prefatory epistle on letter-writing is, perhaps, more noteworthy for the subject-matter than the poetry, yet they are his best-sustained lines. *England's Alarm* (54) and *Joy* (56) are merely catchpenny broadsheets. His *Poems* (66) contain the *Vote* (3), *Ah! ha!* (45), a curious association of elegy and epithalamium, all the verses contained in the *Letters*, as well as the commendatory poems sent by Howell, according to the custom of the time, to preface his friends' productions. It professes to be collected and edited by Payne Fisher, who had been laureate to Cromwell. Yet I suspect that Howell himself had the main hand in bringing the poems together, and even wrote or touched up the compliments on himself which were prefixed to the volume. There are points in the Latin verses which could not well have come from any but Howell himself, and the phrase "Ignorance beyond Barbarisme," which Fisher is supposed to employ to designate those unacquainted with Howell, had been used by Howell himself in a letter to Selden (see p. 660). The possessor of the *Letters* has got the main contents of the *Poems* contained in them, and is fully in a position to judge of their want of merit.

Howell, it may be here mentioned, was one of the earliest who became conscious of the divorce between English sounds and English spelling, and ventured to become an innovator in ORTHOGRAPHY. At the end of Book II. of the *Letters*

<sup>1</sup> He used Moryson's *Itinerary* for it.

he explains his principal alterations : very sensible ones they are, and have been mostly adopted—*Physic* for *Physique*, *star* for *starre*, *pity* for *pitie*. He went so far in his war against the mute final *e* that he proposed to read *don* (for *done*), *som*, *com*. But here the printers would not go with him, and a strange variety occurs in the early editions of his books. In his MS. he always writes “wilbe,” “shalbe,” as one word, regarding them as parts of the verb “to be.” It was natural that the deficiencies of English spelling should appeal to one who approached English as a foreign tongue.

Voluminous as are the writings that have thus been briefly characterised, none of them, except perhaps the *Foreign Travell*, deserved a longer life than they enjoyed. Written in almost every case for the day, their work was over with their day. Neither the arguments of the political pamphlets nor the influences of their writer stand out conspicuously amid the crowd of pamphlets and pamphleteers that distinguish the age. The allegories are frigid and mechanical; the histories are nothing less than historical; the philology of the philological works is sadly to seek; the poetry is but verse. Yet with all this there is one quality which gives these pamphlets and allegories and histories a certain amount of vitality even now, and certainly give a marked place in English literature for their author. In the development of English style the decisive and critical moment is the introduction of the easy short sentence.<sup>1</sup> Everything written after that sounds familiar and native to modern Englishmen; everything written before that, in prose, sounds archaic and extraneous. Now it is usual to trace the introduction of the natural sentence (as distinguished from the period after the model of Latin prose) to Dryden, or at earliest to Cowley. Yet if we open Howell anywhere we come across sentences as short and as natural as any in Dryden, or even in Addison. Opening the *Twelve Treatises* at random, one is struck with sentences like this

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, in the *Essays*, is often short enough. But it is a lapidarian brevity.  
at

at the beginning of *Mercurius Hibernicus* (12, 60<sup>c</sup>), "There is a mongrell race of *Mercuries* lately sprung up, but I claim no *acquaintance* with them, much less any *kindred*." Or take the beginning of *Preheminence of Parliament*, "I am a free-born *subject* of the Realm of *England*; whereby I claim as my native Inheritance an undoubted right, propriety and portion in the Laws of the Land." There is a ring and rhythm in that which is eminently modern. Replace the "whereby" by a "therefore," and the sentence might have been written any time during the past or the present century. They may seem quite commonplace to us now, but the hitting upon the exact lilt and run of them was no slight thing. And such sentences are so frequent in Howell as to be characteristic of his style. True, he indulges at times in the more periodic or euphuistic sentence.<sup>1</sup> Yet the point is the first frequent appearance of the more natural sentence, and that, so far as I know, is to be found in Howell, even in his most hack-work performances. It is not too much to say that in the development of English prose true ease in writing comes from Howell, not Dryden.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Howell's English is also strikingly correct for his epoch; it almost always construes. Contrast the slipshod style of Evelyn in the passage in the *Testimonia*, *supra*, p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> This does not preclude the probability that it was Dryden who made the easy style more popular.





### III.—THE “FAMILIAR LETTERS,” AND THEIR AUTHENTICITY.

“*Cultius Illud opus quo splendit Epistola crebra  
Flexanimo concinna stylo.*”—P. FISHER.



NOTWITHSTANDING their qualities of style, Howell's other works might well be forgotten but for his *Letters*. These have the style of the other works at its best, and in a sphere of literary art where the natural sentence is most appropriate, indeed indispensable. Apart from this, the *Letters* contain specimens of all his various kinds of literary production. The “Survey of the Low Countries” (I. i. 15, pp. 115–29) recalls his historical studies.<sup>1</sup> The verse scattered through the book constitutes the major part of his volume of *Poems* (44 out of 97). His philological treatises may be paralleled by his survey of the languages of the world (II. 55–60, pp. 459–78). The foreign part of his experience in the first section of the first book are a running parallel to the *Foreign Travell*. If there is little to correspond to the political and polemical pamphlets, we are requited by others of a religious or philosophical vein, not too religious or too philosophical to be well written and interesting. Only the allegories are missing, and they never need be missed.

Not only have we example of Howell's various works, we

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<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. lvi.



even have portions incorporated in the *Letters*. Thus the dedicatory Epistles to his translation of *St. Paul's Progress* appear in the letters to Sir P. Pindar and Sir P. Neale (pp. 543, 544). The Preface to his edition of Cotgrave becomes Letter IV. 19 (pp. 557-79); "The Vote" was calmly annexed to the *Epistolæ*, and, as before mentioned, nearly half of the *Poems* appeared first in the *Epistolæ*, which contains, appropriately enough, his best piece of verse on "Familiar Letters." The two letters on the Jews (I. vi. 14; II. 8) represent all that was original in his edition of *Josippon* (B. L. No. 40). Altogether it is scarcely necessary to go beyond the *Letters* to know Howell in all his aspects as an English writer.

But besides giving the quintessence of Howell's activity as an author, the *Letters* display the qualities of his style at the highest pitch. Lucidity and vivacity are good things to have in almost any kind of literary production; for familiar letters they are the first essential. Certainly no other Letters of the seventeenth century display these qualities to such an extent as the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*. Indeed it is not till we reach what may be called the *Epistolæ Eliañæ* of Charles Lamb that we find Howell surpassed in ease and brightness. Horace Walpole, indeed, puts in a fair claim to take the second place in the triumvirate of the brightest letter-writers in English. Yet Horace always seems to write with ruffles on his wrists, and the vast bulk of his nine volumes must always stand in the way of his general popularity.

Howell's style has the additional charm of flexibility. He can alternate grave and gay, argument and "chaff," expostulation and narrative, consolatory or merely occasional. He himself, following the example of the standard Letter-writer of his early years, Angel Day's *English Secretary*, which ran through eight editions between 1586 and 1635,<sup>1</sup> classifies Letters as "Narratory, Objurgatory, Con-

<sup>1</sup> I have given the Table of Contents of Day's Model Letter-Writer in the Introduction to my edition of his translation of *Daphnis and Chloe*, p. xxviii.  
solatory,

solatory, Monitory, or Congratulatory" (I. i. 1, p. 18), and he can adapt his style to each and all of these various classes. Nothing can be more vivid than his description of Buckingham's assassination (I. v. 7, pp. 252-4), or of the announcement of Charles I.'s accession (I. iv. 7, p. 217), or of Charles' surreptitious interview with the Infanta (I. iii. 18, p. 169). Yet he is equally at home with a vastly different kind of epistle, the reflective or philosophical, such as that on the Unity of Nature (II. 50, p. 443), or on a Lunary World (III. 9, p. 528), or on Studies (I. v. 9, p. 256). One cannot help thinking that we have here the model of similar essays or papers in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*: but of this more anon. Howell is, however, at his best in the light, sportive vein, as when he recommends a cook to Lady Cornwallis (I. v. 36, p. 286), or a footman to Sir J. S. (I. v. 13, p. 264): good examples of this vein are the three letters on p. 216. Still, he can be dignified in rebuke, as to R. S. (I. iv. 16, p. 230), and pathetic in consolation, as to Dan Caldwell's widow, or on the death of a true friend, Dr. Prichard (II. 44, p. 438). His letter on his father's death (I. vi. 7) is manly and full of feeling. He can tell an anecdote with point, and his pages are crowded with examples of such pithy narratives.<sup>1</sup> And yet he can command his reader's interest for longer narration or exposition, as is shown by his letters on the Inquisition (I. v. 42, p. 290), or the series of disquisitions on the creeds and tongues of the world. A style that can adapt itself to such varied requirements must be as flexible as a Toledo blade, and among English writers is unique in the seventeenth century.

This wide range of interest may give a somewhat exaggerated notion of the extent of Howell's specialist knowledge. But most of his learning was second-hand. His account of the various religions and languages of the world was taken from Brerewood, his knowledge of the East from Sandys, his essay on French from Pasquiere, his Welsh lore from

<sup>1</sup> See Index s. v. Anecdotes.

Herbert and Rice, his discourse on the moon from Wilkins, his characterisation of the Sybils from Sandys. Browne and Bacon give him hints in the more reflective passages. Even when he professes to tell a story from hearsay he is not unfrequently quoting from book, as in the case of De Coucy (p. 322, see note). His whole plan was probably influenced by Angel Day's *Letter Writer* and Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*. Altogether Howell has not any oppressive amount of original learning about him, and for that reason represents better the ordinary cultivated intelligence of his time.

His contemporaries felt the attraction as much as, perhaps more than, we can who come to it already influenced to it indirectly through Dryden and Addison. It is only by the painful process of taking large doses of contemporary pamphlets and treatises that we can appreciate what a contrast and relief Howell's style must have been to his contemporaries. No wonder that they welcomed three further instalments of the *Epistolæ* during their author's lifetime, and called for two further issues of the whole during the same period. And the interest survived his death. For a century afterwards not a decade passed without a fresh edition of Howell's *Letters* being called for. Except Bacon's *Essays*, Browne's *Religio Medici*, and Burton's *Anatomy*, I can scarcely recall any seventeenth century work of pure literature in prose that showed such continued popularity.

As was natural, such success had its imitators, and Howell bade fair to found a school of Epistolisers. During his lifetime two young writers,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Forde and Loveday, produced volumes of *Familiar Letters* which contained in a disguised form letters addressed to Howell himself.<sup>2</sup> After his death the Duchess of Newcastle produced a volume of *Familiar Letters* which were probably inspired by the desire to be in fashion with a current literary vogue. Nor was it probably without reference to the success of the *Epistolæ*

<sup>1</sup> I owe my knowledge of these imitators of Howell to Mr. Firth.

<sup>2</sup> Specimens are reprinted in Suppt. II.

*Ho-Eliaæ* that Donne's letters were collected by his son and published in 1651. While these serve to show the influence of Howell's *Letters*, they also act as an excellent foil to them. Nothing more lifeless can be conceived than these performances, which smell of the oil used during their composition.

It is difficult to ascertain what influence Howell's style and method had upon the writers who succeeded him. Defoe knew him (Wilson, *Life*, iii. 484), as was natural in one whose own career was so much like his. It is probably to his influence on Defoe that we can trace the striking resemblance to Howell's style shown in the *Essayists*. Every one must be struck with the *Tatler* tone of the *Letters*. Often we seem to be reading a number of the *Spectator*. Take, for example, the essay—it is scarce a letter—on the Unity of the Universe (II. i., p. 443 *seq.*). The beginning, "I was upon point of going abroad to ~~start~~ a solitary walk," is exactly in the *Essayists*' style, while the reflections that succeed might be thought to ape their tone. One of the *Spectators*, indeed (No. 237), is directly taken from Howell (pp. 559–562), and formed in turn the source of Parnell's poem of *The Hermit and the Angel*. Altogether, if one knew nothing of Howell's age one would guess him to be an eighteenth century writer, formed on the model of Steele and Addison. The inference is obvious that they must have come to a certain extent under his. Editions of the *Letters* appeared in 1703, 1713, 1726, and 1737, which shows how they chimed in with the taste of the time. It is probable, indeed, that the very resemblance to the *Essayists* accounts for the decline in popularity of the *Letters* towards the end of the century.<sup>1</sup> The *Essays* had ousted the *Letters*. Not, indeed, that they ever escaped altogether from the sight of book-lovers. The catena of praises I have prefixed to this edition show a continuity of affectionate memory that is

<sup>1</sup> So far as I know, neither Walpole nor Johnson ever refer to them. Goldsmith would have enjoyed them, one likes to think.

rare indeed in the case of a book of such a miscellaneous character. Few books of the seventeenth century can claim to have been read and liked by such men as Defoe, Swift, Addison, Scott, Browning, Thackeray, and Kingsley. There is only one thing that could have kept such a book alive through such vicissitudes of taste. It is style, and style alone, that can grant eternal or even prolonged life to a book.

Mr. Saintsbury does not think so. Amid the chorus of praise that the book has received, his is the sole dissentient voice. That Mr. Saintsbury does not express any enthusiasm about Howell (or any one else) is not to be wondered at; one who has to "do" so many books cannot afford to take any vivid interest in any particular one. Indeed Mr. Saintsbury has arrived at such a stage that, to use a convenient Hibernicism, he seems never to have read a book for the first time. But what strikes one in a critic with a reputation is, that he should commit himself to the statement that with Howell (as with Walton!) "the attraction of matter completely outdoes the purely literary attraction." It seems, then, that we are to read Walton for information about flies and bait, and Howell for an account of Ben Jonson in his cups or Buckingham's assassination. There is such a complete failure of critical vision in such a statement that one can only wonder and pass on.<sup>1</sup>

Thackeray was no critic. Yet he recognised the charm of the *Letters*, and penetrated to the secret of that charm. Mr. Saintsbury complains of the coxcombrity of Howell: Thackeray rightly sees in his priggishness the source of his attraction. It is a curious law of literary production that any foible of a writer unconsciously revealed adds a charm to his writing. What would Pepys be without his vanity and his amorousness? Boswell's egotism is the crown of his work. And so with Howell, it is the perpetual revela-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Saintsbury, I may add, seems entirely ignorant of the doubtful authenticity of the matter of Howell's *olla podrida*.

tion of his self-satisfaction in all that he does and says that gives the final touch to his style and makes his remarks individual and artistic.

Howell has nothing to fear from the self-revelation in the *Letters*. If he is vain, that is, after all, the most amusing of sins in life and letters. His vivacity, his wide interests, his friendly feeling to those who befriended him, his "tiffs" and his impertinences to men in high place, his rare toleration and wide sympathies, his genuine reverence and somewhat lukewarm patriotism—to England, that is; he is ever loyal to Wales—are all displayed without reserve in the *Letters*. References in them, too, show that he was not altogether free from the frailties which are usually associated with the name of Cavalier. The freedom of contemporary talk crops up at times in the *Letters*, but not frequently enough to indicate any morbid taste in this direction. Not more than half a dozen passages offend against even the most squeamish taste. Howell liked his cup, too, but he was no Roger Wildrake, and he is altogether a favourable specimen of the Cavalier.

When a nature like his tells frankly his experiences and development, the result cannot well fail to be charming. The *Letters* contain a "Legend of the Author's Life," as the table of the first edition puts it: whether legendary or not will later concern us. But the Letters to Howell's father and brother contain a tolerably full autobiography of our hero, so that we have the charm of that species of composition added to the more varied attractions of the less personal letters.

Not only does Howell describe himself in his own pages: he paints his age. He bids us be present at many an exciting or interesting event of his time. He depicts at least the feelings which all the great movements of his time produced in an exceptionally competent observer. We hear of Somerset's fall and Villiers' rise; of Raleigh's return and Bacon's disgrace; of the various fortunes of the French King's favourites; of Olivares, Lerma, and Ossuna; of Charles'

Charles' journey to Madrid, and of his welcome to Henrietta Maria. We see Buckingham fall beneath Fenton's knife, or are present as Charles I. was declared King before 'Change in the dismal drizzling rain. Ben Jonson rolls before us in his easy-chair at the Devil's Inn. Howell himself hobnobs with his chums at the Ship, behind the Exchange. Nor is it without a grim interest to find Milton regarded as a "tribolary Pasquiller," a "sterquilinous rascal" (p. 442), or a "poor shallow-brained puppy" (p. 569); or catch a glimpse of the way in which the *Religio Medici* was first received (p. 373).

All this is history as Thackeray would have it, the panorama that passes before men's eyes, excites their curiosity, and rouses their enthusiasm. The professed historian desires to go behind the canvas and trace the motives at work, the hidden springs of national action. For the latter Howell has little instruction to bring. He is in a position to know much more than Howell of the secrets of Cabinets or the true motives of rulers. In fact, thanks to the methods of Ranke and the free access given now-a-days to national archives, the modern historian is often in a position to know more about the real causes of events than even those most deeply concerned in them at the time. Mr. Gardiner, for example, knows more about the Spanish Match than even Olivares or King James, because he can read the most secret and deliberate plans of both at Simancas and Fetter Lane. Howell can have little instruction to offer to him. While Howell thinks the Infanta in love with Charles, the modern historian knows that she hates the heretic. Howell sees only the curtain of history; the historian has the privilege of going behind the scenes.

Yet, from a certain point of view, the curtain is the picture in history as in life. What appears on the curtain is that which moves men in the present, and is certainly that which leaves the most vivid impression on men in their thoughts of the past. And for the history of men's thoughts, habits, and customs this external diorama is all that we have to deal

deal with, and it is often more interesting than the relations of Governments with which history proper deals. Now, Howell is the first who gives us anything like a vivid account of English *Culturgeschichte*, and is therefore to be welcomed by the historian as artist, if not by the historian as scientific student of causes. One can imagine the use Macaulay would have made of him. One cannot help thinking that even Professor Gardiner might have enlivened some of his all too leaden pages by a few purple patches from Howell.

But Professor Gardiner will reply, indeed he has already replied in the preface to his fourth volume, that Howell's letters are not authentic, and cannot, therefore, be used by a historian, whose first concern is with the authenticity of his sources. This leads at once to the final and perplexing question of the AUTHENTICITY of Howell's letters. On the face of them they seem authentic enough. They bear dates at the foot of each; they are addressed to well-known names, mainly of the Cavalier circles that Howell would just be likely to know. They are full, detailed, and explicit about events which would be of common knowledge to the public whom they addressed. Above all, they were published during the lifetime of the author, and of many of the men whose actions are mentioned or criticised in the *Letters*.

But a closer scrutiny causes doubts to attach to many, if not most, of these assurances of authenticity. While some of the letters are addressed to definite and well-known names, others, and those the more intimate and detailed, have only initials at their head. Many of the letters, especially in the later books, are rather essays than letters—essays on the Sibyls (IV. 43), on the Inquisition (I. v. 42), on Roman Catholicism (IV. 36), on Witches (III. 23). The letters, again, must be copies. How is it that, amid all the masses of correspondence of this period that has been unearthed during the past two centuries, not a single letter of Howell's identical with the supposed transcript in the published



lished *Letters* has ever come to light? Above all, the dates that seem so methodical are of the wildest description when examined with a little scrutiny.

The pendulum turns again, however, on examining more closely some of these objections. It is true that the a large number of the letters have only the initials of the addressees. But this circumstance, which looks at first so suspicious, becomes rather a matter of confirmation when we find that we can identify almost every one of the 67 initials. With the exception of some half a dozen, I have been able to identify all the supposed recipients of Howell's letters, and to his contemporaries even the unknown ones would probably have presented no difficulty. In several cases one can guess a reason for the initials. Thus, when it is suggested that J. T. is drinking himself to death (p. 275), one can easily understand that Howell would wish to spare his whilom friend, John Toldervy, who had become a Quaker, a reminder of his wild ways in his youth. Only in one case is there reason to suspect the initials to be a cover for fiction. The Doctor B. to whom are addressed the four letters on the religions of the world (II. 8-11) was probably an ancestor of Mrs. Harris.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the non-existence of originals of these numerous letters, it must be remembered that the Royalists were particularly careful to destroy their papers as likely to lead to confiscation or heavy fines. Howell's, as those of a Royalist spy detained in the Fleet, would be especially likely to suffer. And, as a matter of fact, some of Howell's letters written in Madrid in 1623 were actually in the late Earl of Westmoreland's collection (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, X. iv. 55)<sup>2</sup> till a few years ago, when they were sold at Messrs. Sotheby,

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Firth suggests that Howell was trying to leave the impression that the letters, really taken from Brerewood, were sent to instruct Dr. (not yet Sir) Thomas Browne.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this piece of information to Mr. J. C. Doble of the Clarendon Press.

Wilkinson, & Co.'s (in July 1887).<sup>1</sup> Besides, many, in fact most, of the letters were addressed to persons still living at the time of the first edition, and these would have had the right to protest against the use of their names unless it had been justified. Among these may be mentioned Bishop Duppa, Dr. Prichard, Principal Mansel, the Earl of Bristol, Sir F. Cottington, Sir K. Digby, Sir J. Croft, Sir P. Wych, Sir P. Warwick, Sir E. Savage, and Sir A. Hopton. If the letters addressed to these gentlemen in the *Epistolæ Howelianæ* had been fictitious, we should have had a protest from one of them, or the rumour would have reached Anthony à Wood, and have been immortalised by his malicious pen. As regards the existence of essays among the letters, that mainly applies to the books published later, when they might easily have been thrown in as a makeweight, and are thus indirectly a proof that Howell did not make up letters as required.

But there remains that matter of the dates, which cannot so easily be got over. One needs to go through a considerable number of examples before one can get an adequate idea of their untrustworthiness. Thus the second letter dated 1619 deals with events of 1616, Somerset's fall. Letter I. iii. 4 deals with the return of Dr. Balcanquell from the Synod of Dort, which finished 29th May 1619, under the date 16th April 1622—which is absurd, as the geometricians observe. Letter I. ii. 22 describes the Duke of Luynes as having been recently made Constable of France, which happened 2nd April 1621, under the date 15th Dec. 1622, over eighteen months later. The letter containing Howell's tribute to the memory of Jonson (I. vi. 31), who died 6th August 1637, is dated 1st May 1636. And so it goes on

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<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding every assistance afforded me by Messrs. Sotheby I have been unable to trace the letters. It is just possible, however, that they may be merely copies from the printed copies. Two of this kind occur in the British Museum (Add. MS. 5947).

throughout the chapter.<sup>1</sup> The most obvious dates are forgotten: Howell does not know when Queen Anne (of Denmark) died (I. ii. 7). The letter on Buckingham's death (I. v. 7) is dated three weeks before the event. Nay, he puts his own imprisonment in the Fleet a year later than it actually was, in the letter describing his arrest (I. vi. 47). Indeed a careful scrutiny of the succession of dates in the letters reveals that Howell accounts twice over (in Parts II. and III.) for the year 1622, and sails so near the wind that in Part III. (I. iii. 6) we find him in London on Sept. 8, 1622; whereas, according to the preceding part (I. ii. 20), he was at Poissy on the preceding day, Sept. 7, 1622. After such glaring blunders it seems useless to trust a single date of Howell's or to regard his letters as authentic.

Damning as these discrepancies appear, there is a simple explanation which removes the difficulty of accepting the letters as authentic, even though the dates be grossly inaccurate. For—important fact, which no one has hitherto noticed or reckoned at its just value<sup>2</sup>—the dates were not added till the second edition in 1650. There are no dates at all in the first issue of 1645.<sup>3</sup> Howell must have added them from memory and at haphazard in the reissue of 1650. We have, therefore, simply to regard the Howell of 1650 as an editor of the Howell of 1645, and all that the gross inaccuracy of dates implies is what a bad editor of himself Howell could be. He could not have read the letters he was dating, and even when dates were mentioned in the body of a letter, he had no scruple in adding an utterly incongruous one at the end. Thus, to give only one example,

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<sup>1</sup> I may mention that I confine my attention here mainly to Book I. of the *Letters*. If that is proved unauthentic, the rest follow; and the contrary conclusion follows in the opposite case.

<sup>2</sup> I pointed out its significance in a lecture on Howell, reported in *Academy*, 25th Jan. 1890.

<sup>3</sup> Except in one case (I. vi.), where the date happened to form part of the superscription. Howell actually added a different date at the end of the letter.

Letter I. v. 11 has the 1st March mentioned in the body of the letter, which is dated at the end 1st August (*cf.* also I. iii. 12, 13). He blundered over his own imprisonment; he did not know when Queen Anne died; he did not even take the trouble to refer to his own *Lustra Ludovici*, which has often enabled me to check and correct his dates.

Every one has hitherto taken this carelessness about dates as proof of the want of authenticity of the letters. Ever since malicious old Anthony suggested that "many of the said Letters were never written before the Author of them was in the Fleet . . . only feigned (no time being kept with their dates)," this latter fact has been held to be decisive proof. Yet, as a matter of fact, the contention is rather the other way. A forger would have taken some reasonable care to get something like appropriate dates. Howell's carelessness shows, so far as it goes, a certain amount of confidence in the genuineness of the letters, which did not need the external marks of authentic dating.

Yet not all doubts are solved by this simple explanation of the discrepancies in date. Even if no dates existed at the bottom of the letters, as in the first edition—and this is a suspicious circumstance in itself—there are several phenomena in the letters that tend to raise suspicion. Especially is this the case with letters that refer, as if contemporaneously, to events that occurred with a considerable lapse of time between them. Thus, Professor Gardiner has shown that Letter I. ii. 12 relates to events which occurred respectively in 1619, in 1620, and in 1622. Letter I. iv. 10, as my Notes show, contains a wretched jumble of events that occurred at the beginning and at the end of 1625 and in 1629! Two other letters of the same Part (I. iv. 20, 23) confuse Charles' first and second Parliaments, and combine events of 1625 and 1626 in the same letter. Again, the letter I. vi. 46 contains references to events which occurred in 1637 and 1641, as if they were contemporaneous. A still more glaring instance is afforded by the letter I. iv. 3, professing to give an account of Mansfield's reception in  
London

London in April 1624, when, on any chronological scheme, Howell was still in Madrid, and could not have tried to give any correspondent an account of what was going on in London. Again, in the eighth letter of the same Part (I. iv. 8) Howell quotes *verbatim* from Bacon's well-known letter to the King, and so far this seems only a confirmation of his being "up to date." But though the letter became well known later, yet, according to Spedding, the letter was never delivered, and so could not have become known to Howell till much later than the date at which he professes to write it. This, too, casts suspicion on another quotation of Howell's from a letter of James I. (I. iii. 12), which would otherwise be a striking confirmation of Howell's accuracy, since the letter was not published (in *Cabala*) till after the appearance of the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*. The letter relating to Raleigh's return (I. i. 3) could not have been written when Howell was in London or England, on any chronological scheme of his travels. We know indeed that it was merely taken from the King's own *Declaration*: Howell lets this out in a subsequent and authentic letter defending the statements of the former (see notes on p. 279). And, finally, with regard to the chief date inside a letter which we can check, and refers to the embassy to Denmark, with which Howell was so intimately connected (I. v. 41). In this Howell states that the Earl's pay began from 25th July, yet we know from the Latin account of the embassy which I have unearthed from the Bodleian that it really began on 8th December of the preceding year. If we cannot trust Howell on events with which he was himself intimately connected, when can we trust him?

After such internal evidence of the doubtful authenticity of many of the letters, no stress need be laid on the inaccuracy of the dates attached to them, which may be neglected as a piece of bad editing. Scarcely more importance need be attached to various other arguments that have been adduced. Thus, Mr. Lee, following Mr. Firth, points out signs of imitation of the *Religio Medici* in some

of

of the later letters. This might well have happened naturally, even if the letter had been actually composed and despatched to a friend of Howell's. The well-known unauthorised edition of the *Religio* appeared in 1642, three years before the first edition of the First Book of the *Letters*. Similarly, it is urged that the really authentic letters of Howell published in the Strafford Letters differ in tone and style from the *Epistolæ* (3 *N. and Q.*, ix. 449). Yet such of the letters as are news-letters, like the Strafford ones, are exactly of the same kind (*cf.* I. vi. 12, 25, with Suppt. Nos. v., vii.). Mr. Frith, again, doubts whether Howell would have had the impertinence to address Buckingham in such terms as those in the letter to him (I. iv. 18). But his brother's letter (Suppt. No. vi.) is sufficient to show that Howell was just the man to rush in where wise courtiers fear to tread.

And yet, with all this seemingly crushing evidence of the inauthenticity of Howell's *Epistolæ*, I am not prepared to admit that they were all written in the Fleet, and were never addressed to the persons whose names they bear. They give that indefinite sense of reality which arises when an inquirer is dealing with a long series of statements like those of Howell, a general sense of correspondence with facts. One becomes confident that confirmatory evidence of Howell's statements will be found, and one's confidence is rarely misplaced. Considering the large amount of material in the *Letters*, the errors are comparatively few in number, though when he does go wrong, Howell makes no compliments but lies like a trooper. Thus while there are so many discrepancies, there are equally remarkable agreements with the actual events of the time. Now, the majority of the letters deal with the decade 1617-1627, from twenty-eight to eighteen years before the appearance of the *Letters*. It is scarcely likely, nay, almost impossible, that Howell twenty years after the event should remember that Charles came to Madrid on a Friday, or that Buckingham was murdered on a Saturday. A subtle point

point in his favour is the frequency with which he changes titles as time goes on, in a most natural manner, Lord Darcy changing to Viscount Colchester, and he to Earl Rivers, at appropriate stages of the events.<sup>1</sup> These "undesignated coincidences," as Paley used to call them, give a strong impression of reality and authenticity. Then, again, I have throughout noted natural touches in the letters, references to quite secondary persons (like Vacandary the carrier), minute points that are verifiable from contemporary records, that all tell for the mass of Howell's correspondence. The very *lacunæ* in the narrative give a Defoe-like sense of reality to it: persons disappear in it like the boy Xury in *Robinson Crusoe*, and as they do in real life. I certainly hesitate to credit Howell with such powers of memory or of imagination as would have enabled him to write such a mass of correspondence teeming with details often of minute accuracy. The very insignificance of some of the letters seems, too, to vouch for their authenticity. No man would think of inventing such letters as the three I. iv. 4-6, if he did not happen to have copies by him.

We seem to have arrived at a critical *cul de sac*. Arguments of great weight prove that some of the letters at least were not written at the time they profess to be. Other arguments equally strong render it impossible that Howell could have absolutely invented the bulk of the correspondence printed in the *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*. Is there any solution of the difficulty, any *tertium quid* which reconciles the two sets of statements? I believe there is, and proceed briefly to state it, and thus release the reader from the critical see-saw of which he must now be getting rather tired.

It is, I think, certain that the chief object of the Parliamentarians in seizing Howell in 1642 was to obtain possession of his papers, so as to obtain incriminating evidence against the King. His description of his seizure (quoted

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a mistake occurs, I. iv. 25.

above, p. xlii.) shows that it was his "Papers and Letters, and anything that was Manuscript," that formed the main object of the search. He was ordered into custody "till some Papers of mine were perus'd, and Mr. Corbet<sup>1</sup> [Chairman of the Committee for Examination] was appointed to do it." These "Letters and Papers" were sufficient to fill a "great hair Trunk," which the guards carried away with them. These Papers, I believe, included the bulk of what was afterwards to be the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*.

For the special purposes of the Parliamentarians, such of Howell's papers and MSS. as related to his earlier life (say before 1630) would be of absolutely no use. They were doubtless returned to him after a time, when Howell had become a regular literary man of all work. No one accustomed to hack-work in literature could have failed to take advantage of such an amount of "copy" thus thrown unexpectedly into his hands, and Howell saw that much of his materials, especially his letters from Spain, were of considerable public interest. He was vain of his letter-writing, and with justice. It was not unusual at the time to take copies of one's letters: Ferrar did so and so did Evelyn). An intelligencer would especially be in the habit of taking notes of his correspondence so as not to repeat news, and to keep separate and continuous the threads of communication. It is, therefore, quite probable that much of the material thus unexpectedly thrown upon Howell's hands consisted of copies and notes of letters. This probability is turned into a certainty by the Stationer's Advertisement to the Reader in Part II. (see Suppt. No. xxx.), which expressly declares that some of the letters published in Book II. could not be inserted in Book I., because Howell's papers "were under sequestration." Humphrey Moseley, who signed this Advertisement, was the John Murray of his day, and could not have lent himself to any imposture or mystification.

<sup>1</sup> The usual agent in such matters. See Masson, *Life*, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v. Corbet, Miles.



The difficulty of dealing with such a miscellaneous mass of materials as would be thus afforded Howell would chiefly consist in their chronological arrangement. Some of the letters would be dated, others not. Howell naturally shrank from the difficult task of settling their dates from internal evidence—how difficult, even with all the aids of modern historical research, the present writer can bear unwilling but abundant testimony. The only resort was to remove all dates, fill out notes, dovetail fragments, and arrange by guess-work. It can be shown that Howell put his pen through all the dates attached to the letters, for by a singular chance he failed to do so thoroughly enough in one instance (I. i. 3), when the ED. PR. has the truncated date, "London *this*." That the arrangement of even probably authentic letters was by guess-work may be shown by the instance of the letter addressed to Howell's brother-in-law, Hugh Penry (I. iii. 4). This would suit tolerably well with the circumstances and date of Howell's return from his first trip to the Continent, but is placed by himself after his second trip two years later.

It is only by some such hypothesis as that sketched above that we can explain the curious mixture in the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaŋæ* of minute accuracy in details with gross mistakes in arrangement and dating. A considerable proportion of the latter occur in letters addressed to the members of his family, his father (who was dead), and his brother, the Bishop. It is not unlikely that the framework of these were made up in 1642-5, and fragments inserted from Howell's MSS. The letters to his father, in particular, bear the signs of having been written as an autobiographical series, and give the "Legend of the Author's Life" promised in the Table of the ED. PR.

Howell's *Letters* are thus authentic in a measure, being in the majority of cases, especially in Part III., founded on copies or notes made at the time they are supposed to be written. On the other hand, many of them are "cooked" by

by the insertion of incongruous fragments;<sup>1</sup> and others, especially the series addressed to his father and containing Howell's autobiography,<sup>2</sup> were probably either entirely fabricated or had the biographical paragraphs inserted, since they read too continuously. This large admixture of spurious matter renders them of little value for historical purposes; but, as already pointed out, they would be, under any circumstances, of little value in the face of the mass of authentic and diplomatic evidence contained in the archives. On the other hand, their use as "documents" of the period, in the literary and sociological sense of the word, is only slightly affected by the nebulous character of the dating and authenticity, and it is, of course, as literary or sociological "documents" that we are chiefly interested in them. To sum up, the authenticity of Howell's *Letters* can be fairly assumed until reason is shown to the contrary in any particular case.

In coming to this somewhat drab and trimming conclusion, an editor of Howell's *Letters* resists a strong temptation to declare for the complete and thorough-going fabrication of the whole book. From the literary point of view this would greatly enhance their value. Next to a great truth, a big thumping lie has the greatest attraction for the literary taste. If Howell had done his *Letters*, with their air of *vraisemblance* and *à propos*, all "out of his own head," it would be one of the greatest literary feats on record. To leave such an impression of reality and eye-witness as many of his letters produce would require powers of imagination equal to those of Defoe. Highly as I rate Howell's literary powers, I know too much of his failures of imagination in his imaginative works to credit him with such success. We must content ourselves with the more humdrum truth that Howell's *Letters* were printed for the most part from

<sup>1</sup> A list of these may be useful: I. i. 2, 3, 34; ii. 6, 12, 17; iii. 7; iv. 3, 8, 10, 20, 23; v. 11, 41; vi. 16, 37.

<sup>2</sup> I. i. 2, 7, 15; ii. 1, 7, 12, 21; iii. 1, 6, 12; iv. 1, 7, 24; v. 14, 32, 38.  
materials

materials thrown upon his hands by the Parliamentarians in 1642, and "cooked" for the press between that date and 1645. The very carelessness with which they were edited argues that the amount of "cooking" was proportionately slight, and leaves the bulk of the letters unaffected. Meanwhile, the whole question of their authenticity is still left half in shadow, and my utmost pains have not been able to remove from them altogether the attraction of the mysterious and problematical.

*And so, James Howell, you and I must part. For four years we have lived together in the only communion of souls of which mortals have certain assurance. Much have I laboured in that time at other work, but I have always returned to you as the pièce de resistance of my workaday life. A solid piece you have indeed proved: to speak candidly, friend, you have hung round my neck like a millstone any time these two years. And yet with it all I have never lost the affection and respect with which you have known how to inspire your readers. Ay, respect; for which of us poor slaves of the pen can hope to deserve, by our wisdom or our folly, a commentator's care and toil after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years? For that care and toil I claim from you and yours,—the men and women whom in each generation of English-speaking folk you will win for yourself—that shadow of the shade of your fame which is the commentator's meed. I have deserved it, I know, but men get not always their deserts in letters or in life, as you well knew. I have done my part. The rest is yours and theirs. Farewell.*

## APPENDIX.

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### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF HOWELL'S WORKS.

[THE fullest account hitherto has been that given in Bliss' edition of *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii. 745 *seq.* Watt' *Bibl. Brit.* is also tolerably full, and Chalmer's *Biographical Dictionary* repeats Wood. In the following account all the items are from personal inspection except those in which the lineation of the title-page is not given by the sloping lines. These have been taken from Watt, Wood, Halkett-Laing's *Dict. of Anon. Lit.*, or W. C. Hazlitt's Bibliographical Collections.]

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### SHORT TITLES ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

Admonition, 47; Advice from Florence, 60<sup>l</sup>; Ah! ha! 4<sup>b</sup>, 45<sup>i</sup>; Bella Scot-Anglica, 25, 45<sup>i</sup>; Brief Admonition, 55; Christina of Sweden, 51; Cordial for Cavaliers, 61; Cotgrave, 34; Cottoni Posthuma, 39; Deplorable Condition, 19, 60<sup>b</sup>; Dialogue, 44<sup>a</sup>; Discourse of the Empire, 53; Dodona's Grove, 1, 2, 11, 35, 41; England's Alarm, 54; England's Joy, 56; England's Teares, 9, 10, 17, 30; English Grammar, 64; Familiar Letters, 14, 21, 33, 49; Finetti Philoxenis, 50; Florus Hungaricus, 67; Forreine Travel, 4, 36; French Grammar, 70; German Diet, 43; Glance upon Isle of Wight, 60<sup>k</sup>; Inquisition after Blood, 31, 45<sup>h</sup>; Instruments, 23, 45<sup>a</sup>, 60<sup>e</sup>; Josippon, 40; King's Declaration, 27, 60<sup>d</sup>; Letter to Pembroke, 20, 45<sup>d</sup>, 60<sup>c</sup>; Lexicon Tetraglotton, 57; Londinopolis, 52; Lustra Ludovici, 16; Massaniello, 37, 42; Mercurius Hibernicus, 12, 60<sup>f</sup>; Minor Works, 44<sup>b</sup>; Nocturnal Progress, 15, 60<sup>i</sup>; Parables, 6, 60<sup>e</sup>; Parley of Beasts, 58; Parthenopœia, 48; Patricius, 7, 60<sup>a</sup>, 60<sup>b</sup>; Peleus and Thetis, 46; People of Scotland, 32; Poems, 66; Precedency of Kings, 68, 69; Preheminence of Parlement, 8, 10, 60<sup>j</sup>; Process of Anthony Ascham, 26; Royal Matches, 63; St. Paul's Progress, 13; S. P. Q. V., 38; Sober Inspections into the Cordial, 62; Sober Inspections into Long Parliament, 44, 59; Some Minor Works, 45, 45<sup>b</sup>; Strange

Strange News, 22; Surrender of Dunkirk, 65; Sway of Sword, 60<sup>e</sup>; Trance, 29, 45<sup>e</sup>; Trve Informer, 5; Twelve Treatises, 60; Venice Looking-glass, 24; Vision, 37<sup>e</sup>; Vote, 3, 21, 45<sup>e</sup>; Winter Dream, 28, 45<sup>e</sup>.

- (1) ΔΕΝΔΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ./ Dodona's Grove / or / The Vocall / Forreft / By J. H. Esq<sup>r</sup>. [Plate]. By T. B. for H. Moseley at the Princes Armes in S<sup>t</sup>. Pauls Church-yard, 1640, sm. fol. pp. viii. (poems) + 219.

[Dedicatory poems to the King, the Queen and the Prince of Wales, to the Knowing, to the Common and to the Criticall Reader, recommendatory poems by Henry Wotton and T. P[richard?].]

- (2) Dendrologie / on / La Forest / de Dodone / par / M. Jacques Howel Gentilhomme / Breton-Anglais / Sylvæ sunt consul digna Virg./ A Paris / Aux depens de l'Autheur / Qui les fait vendre / Chez Augustin Courbe. Lib. & Imprimeur de / Mons. Frere du Roy, au Palais en la petite Sale, à la Palme / M. DC. XLI. / Avec Privilege du Roy./ 4to pp. vi. (of illustrations) + 322 + xviii. (including *Clef*).

[Has the portrait of Howell, Melan and Bosc, sculp. (first state in which there is no coat-of-arms, and the collar is broader). Wood speaks of other French editions, but seems to have been misled by a surcharged slip in a presentation copy to Selden. See Bliss' note, col. 745.]

- (3) The Vote / or / A Poeme Royall, / Presented / To His Majestie / for a New-Yearess-Gift./ By way of Discourfe 'twixt the Poet / and his Muse / Calendis Januariis 1642 / London, printed by Thomas Badger 1642, 4to pp. 12.

[Reprinted in second and later editions of the *Letters*. Cf. Text, pp. 5-12.]

- (4) Instructions / for / Forreine / Travell / Shewing by what *cours* and in what *compasse of time*, one may / take an exact Survey of the King / domes and States of Christen / dome, and arrive at the practicall / Knowledge of the Languages, / to good purpose. / *Post motum dulcior inde Quies.* / London / Printed by T. B. for Humphrey Mosley / at the Princes Armes, in Pauls / Church-yard, 1642, 12mo pp. 284.

[A second edition with Appendix in 1650. See No. 36.]

- (5) The Trve Informer Who in the following Discorr, or Colloquy, Discovereth unto the World the Cheife Causes of the Sad Distempers in Great Brittain and Ireland. Deduced from their Originals. Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield. MDCXLIII. [Ap. 12]. 4to A-G3 in fours and the title C omitted.

(6)

- (6) Parables / reflecting / upon the / Times. / Printed at Paris, / MDCXLIII. 4to. pp. 16.

[Preface signed *Ανώνυμος* addressed to Sir — D., Knight (probably Sir Kenelm Digby). The British Museum copy has a MS. note in contemporary handwriting "written by James Howell," which is confirmed by a remark in the postscript, "I am one that lyeth at the Cape of Good Hope, though a long time under hatches," *cf.* p. 218. The subscription, "Yours as at first inalterable" is also like Howell. The Parables are "The Parlement of Stars," "The Great Council of Birds," "The Parliament of Flowers," "The Assembly of Architects," and "The Insurrection of the Winds." The explanations are printed at the side of the parables. The Paris imprint is merely a blind. Reprinted in *Twelve Treatises*, 167-197, under title "Apologs or Fables."]

- (7) A Discourse, or Parly continued / betwixt Partricius and Peregrine (upon their / landing in France) touching the civill Wars / of England and Ireland.

[Museum copy, incomplete, is dated in Thomasson's handwriting, 21 July, 1643. A second part was written, but probably not published till 1661 in *Twelve Treatises*, No. 60<sup>b</sup>.]

- (8) The Preheminence and / Pedigree of / Parlement / By James Howell Esquire, one of the Clerks of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill / Whereunto is added, / A Vindication of some Passages reflecting upon him, / in a Booke called the *Popish Royall Favorite*, penn'd / & published by *Master Prynne*, page 42 / Wherein he stiles him / *No Friend to Parliament and a Malignant* / Together, / With a cleering of some Occurrences in *Spain* at His Majesties being there, cited by the said Master Prynne / out of the Vocall Forest / Published by Special Licence and entred into the / Hall Booke according to Order / Printed at *London* by *Richard Heron* 1644 [Feb. 29], 4to. pp. ii. + 18.

[With Melan plate without arms. Dedicated to Sir W. S., Kt. Reprinted with England's Teares same year, No. 10, in *Twelve Treatises*, 1661, also separately, 1677. Also in vol. i. p. 35, *Harl. Misc.*,\* ed. 1808, and vol. v. p. 47, *Somers' Tracts*, ed. 1809.

There must have been an edition without the Vindication, which was occasioned by Prynne's pamphlet as follows.]

A Modest Apology against a Pretended Calumny in answer to some Passages in the Preheminence of Parlement. Newly published by James Howell Esquire, one of the Clerks of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council. By William Prynne of Lincolnes Inne Esquire. 1644.

\* The Vindication in vol. vi. p. 127.

- (9) England's / Teares, / For the Prefent / Wars, / which for the Nature / of the Quarrell, the Quality of Strength, the / Diversity of Battailes, Skirmiges, Encounters, and / Sieges, (happened in so short a compasse of / time) cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age. / [Royal Arms] Hic mihi, quàm miserè rugit Leo, Lilia langueat, / Heu, Lira, quàm mæstos pulsat Hiberna sonos. / Printed at London, according to order, by Richard Heron, 1644. 4to. pp. 18.

[Translated into Latin and Dutch, See Nos. 17, 30. Reprinted with Preheminence and Dodona's Grove (See No. 11), in *Harl. Misc.*, ed. 1744, viii. 249, and *Somers' Tracts*, v. 37.]

- (10) Two Discourses, Lately Review'd and enrich'd by the Author. One, The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parleмент Whereunto is added A Vindication of some passages reflecting upon the Author in a Book call'd the *Popish Royall Favorit* penn'd and publish'd by Master Prynne. . . . The Second, England's Teares. By James Howell. Printed at London according to Order, by Richard Horne. 4to. A—D in fours, first leaf blank.

[W. C. Hazlitt. Wood reports another edition of the *Preheminence* as late as 1677. (Ed. Bliss, iii. col. 746.)]

- (11) ΔΕΝΔΡΟΔΟΝΙΑ Dodona's Grove / Or the Vocall Forrest / The Second Edition more exact and perfect then / the former with an addition of two other Tracts : / viz. / *Parables reflecting upon the Times* / AND / *England's Teares for the present Warres* / By J. H. Esquire / Printed in the year 1644. 4to A—Z in fours.

[With frontispiece by R. Vaughan. A third edition in 12mo appeared at Cambridge in 1645, with addition of *Preheminence* (No. 8) as well as above, also another edition in 1650.]

- (12) Mercurius Hibernicus : or a discourse of the late insurrection in Ireland, displaying 1. The true causes of it (till now not so fully discovered). 2. The course that was taken to suppress it. 3. The reasons that drew on a cessation of armes and other compliances since. As also touching those auxiliaries which are transported thence to serve in the present warre. Printed at Bristoll 1644, pp. 2. 6. t. 14.

[Dedication signed Philareus. Halkett-Laing, 1601. Same as *Land of Ire.* in *Twelve Treatises*. No. 60.]

- (13) St. Paul's / Late Progres / Upon Earth / About a Divorce 'twixt *Christ* and / the Church of *Rome*, by reason / of her dissoluteness / and excesses / Recommended to all *tender-conscienced* / Christians / A fresh Fancy full of various strains  
and

and fuitable / to the Times, Rendered out of Italian / into  
English / Published by Authority / London / Printed by  
Richard Heron for Matthew Wal / banck neare Grayes Inne  
Gate 1644, 12mo pp. xviii + 148 + iv.

[With Prefatory letters to Sir Paul Pindar (*cf.* iii. 20) and Sir Paul Neale (iii. 21).]

- {14} Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ / Familiar / Letters / Domestic and  
Forren / Divided into / Six Sections / Partly { Historical  
Political and  
Philosophicall /

Upon Emergent Occasions: / By J. H. Eq;: One of the  
Clerks of / His Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill /  
*London*, Printed for Humphrey Moseley; and are to be / sold  
at his shop at the Prince's Arms in *S. Pauls Church-yard*,  
1645. 4to pp. + 88 + 120 + 40 + 48 + 92 + ii.

[With frontispiece in 8 compartments. <sup>2</sup>At end "Imprimatur, Nat. Brent. June 9, 1645."]

- (15) *A Nocturnal Progreſs or a Perambulation of moſt countrys in Chriſtendom, Performed in One Night by ſtrength of the Imagination.* London 1645.

[Anthony à Wood. Reprinted in *Twelve Treatises*, 60<sup>l</sup>.]

- (16) *Lustra Ludovici* / or the / Life of the late Victorious / King  
of France / Lewis / the XIII / (and of his Cardinal de  
Richelieu) / Divided / into Seven Lustres / Confelinus Ar-  
morum *Cardo* / By James Howell, Esq. / London / Printed  
for Humphrey Mofeley; and are to be sold at his shop / at  
the Prince's Arms in S. Pauls Church-yard / 1646. Sm. fol.  
pp. x. + 188 + viii.

[Dedicated to Prince Charles at Jersey.]!

- (17) Angliæ / Sufpiria / & Lachrymæ / Ob Horrendos hocce /  
tumultus, & bellum phifquam civile, quo viscera / ejus ipfæq;  
Cordis fibræ a fuis / Propriis Incolis & In / digenis tam  
miferi delacerantur / *καὶ οὐ εἰς τὸν?* / *Est quædam Heu volupt-*  
*tas / Lenitur Lachrymis arguiturq; dolor.* Ovid / Aut : Ia :  
Howell, Arm. Brit. Anglo / Londini / Exaudit Humphrey  
Mosley, 1646, 24mo pp. viii. + 75 + iv.

[Appeared 6th Feb. 1646. Dedicated to Jackson, Bp. of London,  
"e Carcere Fletensi, Cal. Jan."]

- (18) Downright Dealing, or the despised Protestant speaking plain English to the King, the Houses of Parliament, the City of London and the Army. Printed in the year of Discoveries.

[Halkett-Laing, No. 783. Bodl. Cat. ii. 224b.]



- (19) An Account of the Deplorable and desperate Condition that England stands in, An. 1647, in a letter to Francis Cardinal Barbarini. 1647.

[Qy. the same as No. 24.]

- (20) A Letter to the Earl of Pembr. concerning the Times and the sad Condition both of Prince and People. Printed in the yeare 1647, 4to pp. 12.

[Halkett-Laing, No. 1895. A. & W.]

- (21) A New Volume of Letters Partly  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Philosophicall} \\ \text{Politically} \\ \text{Historicall} \end{array} \right\}$  By James Howell Esq. Ut clavis portam sic pandit Epistola pectus. London, Printed by T. W. for Humphrey Moseley &c. 1647, 8vo A 4 leaves B-S4 in eights.

[The Vote added at end. The first edition of Second Book of letters.]

- (22) Strange News / from Scotland / or, / A strange Relation of a terrible and / prodigious Monster borne to the amazement / of all those that were spectators, in the Kingdome of / Scotland, in a village neare Edinborough, call'd / *Hadenfworth*, Septem. 14, 1647, and the words / the said Monster spake at its birth. Printed according to the Originall Relation sent over to / a great Divine hereafter mentioned. Sm. 4to pp. 5.

[With cut of a two-headed monster with a second set of hands protruding from the knees.]

- (23) The / Instruments / of / A King / or / A short Discourse / of  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The Sword} \\ \text{The Scepter} \\ \text{The Crowne} \end{array} \right\}$  *Satis habet Rex ad pœnam / Quod Deum* 1648  
*expectet Ultorem* / London / Printed in the Year 1648. 4to pp. ii. + 11.

- (24) A Venice Looking-glafs; or, a Letter written very lately from Lond. to Card. Barbarini at Rome by a Venetian Clarissimo touching the present Distempers in England, 1648. 4to, pp. 24.

- (25) Bella Scot-Anglica. / A Briefe / of all the / Battells, and Martiall / Encounters which have hap / pened 'twixt England and / Scotland from all / times to this present. / Wherunto is annexed a Corolla- / ry declaring the causes whereby the Scot is / come of late years to be so hight- / ned in his spirits; / With some *Prophecies* which are much cryed up, as reflecting upon the fate of both nations. / Printed in the Yeare 1648. 4to pp. 19.

- (26) The Procefs and Pleadings / In the Court of *Spain* upon the death of Anthonie Afcham / Resident for the Parliament of / England / And of John Baptista Riva his Interpreter / who

were kill'd by { John Guillim,  
William Spark,  
Valentine Progers, / who are all in clofe prifon  
Jo. Halsal,  
William Harnet,  
Henrie Progers,

in *Madrid* for the faid fact, / except *Henry Progers* who fled to the *Venetian* Ambaffador's Hous, and fo escaped / London, / printed by William Du Gard, Printer to the Council of State / 1651 / 4to pp. ii. + 15.

- (27) The late King's Declaration in Latin French & English, 1649.

[Anthony à Wood. Watt.]

- (28) A / Winter / Dreame. / *Quæ me fufpensum Infomnia terrent ?* Virg. / *Sæpe futurarum præfagia Somnia Rerum.* Printed Anno Domini / QuanDo ReX AngloruM *Vecti vIctItabat* CaptIvus / 1649 [Nov. 26, 1648] 4to pp. 20.

- (29) A / Trance. / Or / Newes from Hell / Brought fresh to Towne / By / Mercurius Acheronticus. / London, / Printed, Ann. Dom. 1649 [Jan. 3, 1648 O.S.] 4to pp. 19.

[At end author advises reader to take heed to his words, as "he hath been *buried* many years."]

- (30) Engelants / Tranen / Over / Kreghs-Beroerten / Zijnde /

{ De Natuero der Oneenegheden

Van wegens { De Qualiteyt der Machten

{ De Veelheyt der Veltflaghen

Schermtufelen, Belegeringen, &c. (binnen foo korten tijd gefchiet) by alle voorgaende Eeuwen niet te vergelijcken. / *Hei mihi* [&c.] / t'Amsterdam. / Voor Gerrit Willemfz, Boeckverkoper inde Nieuwe / Gafthuys-Molensteegh, in't groot Cantoor-Boeck. 1649, 4to pp. 16, double cols.

- (31) An / Inquisition / after / Blood / To the Parliament *in statu quo nunc* / and / To the Army Regnant / Or any other whether Royallist, Presbyterian, Inde- / pendent or Further, whom it may concern / *Blood is a crying fin, but that of Kings / Cryes* loudest for revenge, and ruine brings / Printed in the Year 1649 / (July 17th is added in MS. in Brit. Mus. copy), 4to pp. 13.

- (32) A Perfect / Description / of the / People and Country / of Scotland / By James Howel, *Gent.* / London, printed for J. S. 1649. 4to pp. 8.

[A second edition in 12mo, pp. 21, appeared in 1659. It was reprinted in 1788, in the *North Briton* No. 13, and there was then some talk of prosecuting the publisher owing to the libellous character of the tract.]

- (33) Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ. / Familiar / Letters / Domestic and Foreign ; / Divided into fundry Sections, / Partly { Historically,  
Politically,  
Philosophically,  
/ Upon Emergent Occasions : / By James Howell, Esq ; One of the Clerks of / His late Ma<sup>ties</sup> most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy Council. / The second Edition, enlarged with divers supple- / ments, and the Dates annexed which were / wanting in the first, / With an Addition of a third volume of new Letters. / *Ut clavis portam, sic pandit Epistola pectus.* / London, Printed by W. H. for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Princes Armes in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1650. 8vo pp. xxii. (List of persons addressed, Dedication to Chas. I., To the Knowing Reader, and Table of Contents) + 82 + 256 + i. (Adv't. about orthography) + iv. (Title-page and Dedication to Duke of York of vol. ii.) + 122 + viii. (the Vote) + iv. (Title-page and Dedication to Earl of Dorset of Additional Letters) + 43 + xv. (Contents of vol. ii. and Additional Letters).

- (34) A / French-English / Dictionary / Compil'd by Mr. Randle Cotgrave : / with / Another in English and French. / Whereunto are newly added the Animadversions and Supple- / ments, &c., of James Howell, Esquire / *Inter Eneditos Cathedralæ habeat Polyglotus* / London, / Printed by W. H. for Octavian Palley, and are to be sold at his shop at the / signe of the Rose in *Pauls* Churchyard. 1650. fol. pp. xxx. (Dedictory Epistle and French Grammar by J. H.) + forms A-Z, Aa-Zz, Aaa-Zzz, Aaaa-Xxxx (=

[Another edition in 1660, and still another after H's death in 1673.]

- (35) Διδρολογία. / Dodona's / Grove, / Or / The Vocall Forest, / Second Part. / *Silvæ sunt Consule dignæ.* Virg. / By James Howell, Esquire. / Printed according to Order. London. Printed by W. H. for Humphrey Moseley, and / are to be sold at his shop at the Princes Arms / in St. *Pauls* Churchyard. 1650. 8vo pp. xviii. (Index) + 286.

[With Melan portrait of Howell, second state. Plate of "Robur Britannicum" and two folded plates of trees by Merian junr.]

- (36) Instru&tion / and / Directions / For Forren / Travell / Shewing by what *cours* and / in what *compas of time*, one may / take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes / and States of Christendome, and ar- / rive to the practicall knowledge of the / Languages, to good purpose. / With a new Appendix for Tra- / velling into *Turkey* and the *Levant* parts / By James Howell, Esq. : /—*Post motum dulcior inde Quies* / London, / Printed by W. W. for *Humphrey Moseley* at the *Princes Armes* in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1650. 12mo pp. vi. + 140.

[Dedicated to Prince Charles. A plate of the spheres prefixed.]

- (37) An Exact / Historie / of / The late Revolutions / in / Naples / and of / their monstrous Successes / Not to be parallel'd by any / Ancient or Modern History / Published by the Lord Alexander Giraffi / in Italian, And (for the rareness of / the subject) rendered into English, / By J. H. Esq. . . . London Printed by R. A. for R. Lowndes. 1650. 8vo pp. ii. + 206.

[With coloured frontispiece "Effigie & uero Ritratto di Masaniello, comandante in Napoli." Dedicated to the Levant Company.]

- (37a) Vision or Dialogue between the Soul and the Body. Lond. 1651, Oct.

[Anthony à Wood, also given as No. xviii. of Howell's Works at end of *Parthenopœia*, No. 48.]

- (38) S. P. Q. V. / A Survey / of the / Signorie / of / Venice, / of her admired policy, and method of / Government &c. / With / A cohortation to all Christian Princes to resent / Her dangerous condition at present. / By James Howell, Esq. / London / Printed for *Richard Lowndes* at the White Lion / in *S. Pauls Churchyard*, near the West end / M.DC.LI. fm. fol. pp. iv. + 210 + viii.

[Dedicated to Parliament. Large plate of Venice safe in Neptune's arms, smaller lion of St. Mark.]

- (39) *Cottoni Posthuma* / Divers / Choice Pieces / of that / renowned Antiquary / Sir *Robert Cotton* / Knight and Baronet / Preserved from the inju- / ry of Time and Expo'd / to public Light, for the benefit of Posterity, / By J. H. Esq; / London / Printed by Francis Leach, for Henry Scill / over against St. Dunstons Church in / Fleet Street, 1651 [Apr. 30], pp. vi. + 351.

[Dedicated to Sir Robt. Pye.]

- (40) The / Wonderful / and / most deplorable History / of the latter Times / of the / Jews / and of the City of / Hierusalem / Beginning

Beginning where the Holy Scriptures do end./ Written first in Hebrew and now made / more Methodical and corrected / of fundry Errors / *Perditio tua ex te Israel* / London / Printed for John Stafford and are to be sold at the George at *Fleet-Bridge* and by Humphrey Mofeley at the / Princes Arms in St. Pauls Church-yard. 1652 [Jan. 2]. 8vo, pp. xii. + 432 + viii.

[With plates of Josephus, Jerusalem, battering rams, &c. Dedicated to Mayor and Corporation of London. Reprinted 1684, 1699.]

- (41) *Dendrologie ou la Forest de Dodonne Duixième Partie*, Paris 1652, 4to.

[Anthony à Wood and Bodl. Cat.]

- (42) The / Second Part / of / Massaniello / His body taken out of the Town-Ditch and / solemnly Buried with Epitaphs upon him. / A continuation of the Tumults ; / The D. of *Guise* made *Generalissimo* / Taken prisoner by young / Don John of Austria. / The end of the Commotions. / By J. H. Esquire / Truth never look'd so like a Lie / As in this modern Historie / London / Printed by D. M. for Abel Roper at the sign / of the Sun and T. Dring at the George / near St. Dunstons Church in / Fleet street, MDCLII / 8vo pp. xii. + 199.

[Continuation of No. 37. Two plates, that of Massaniello uncoloured, and three heads of Genovino, Gennaro and Mass: A second edition of the two parts in 1664.]

- (43) *The German Diet. : or, the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakness, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c., of all the kingdoms and states of Christendom are impartially poised.* London, 1653. fol.

[With Melan plate as frontispiece.]

- (44) *Some sober Inspections made into the Carriage and Consults of the late Long Parliament by J. H.* 1653.

[Other editions in 1655 and 1656. "Dedicated to O. Cromwell whom he compares to Charles Martel."—A. à W. See No. 59 for fourth edition.]

- (44a) *A Dialogue.* c. 1653.

["Published and couched under the name of Polyander. Written about the Time that Oliver began to be protector. In this dialogue he gives his opinion for a single person against all other governments."—Anthony à Wood.]

- (44b) *Ah, Ha ; / Tumulus, Thalamus : / Two Counter- / Poems / The First an Elegy Upon Edward, late Earl of Dor-set ; The second, an Epithalamium to the Lord M. of Dorchester / Invicem cedunt Dolor & Voluptas / Funera, Tædoe / Sorrow may*

may endure for a Night / But *joy* cometh in the Morning /  
London / Printed for Humphrey Moseley and are to be sold /  
at his shop at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard,  
1654. 4to pp. 15.

- (45) Some of Mr. Howell's minor works reflecting upon the  
times; upon emergent occasions. 4° n.p. 1654.

[Bodl. Cat., ii. 355a.]

- (a) Instruments of a King. 1648. (No. 23).

- (b) Venice looking glass. 1648. (No. 24).

- (c) Winter Dreame. 1649. (No. 28).

- (d) Letters to Earl of Pembroke. 1647. (No. 20).

- (e) A Trance, or News from Hell. 1649. (No. 29).

- (f) Bella Scot-Anglica. 1648. (No. 25).

- (g) The Vote, or a Poem Royal. 1642. (No. 3).

- (h) Inquisition after Blood. 1649. (No. 31).

- (i) Ah, ha! Tumulus, Thalamus. 1653.

- (46) The Nuptials of / Peleus / and / Thetes / consisting of  
a / Mask and a Comedy / or the / The Great Royall Ball /  
Acted lately in *Paris* six times / By / The King in Person /  
The Duke of Anjou / The Duke of Yorke / with divers other  
Noble men / Also by / The Princess Royall Henrette Marie /  
The Princess of Conty / The Dutchess of Roquelaire / The  
Dutchess of Crequy / with many other Ladies of Honour /  
London / Printed for Henry Honnyman, and are to be sold  
at his / shop at the *Ancor* in the lower walk of the New /  
Exchange, 1654. 4to pp. vi. + 25.

[Dedicated to Katherine, Marchioness of Dorchester, &c.]

- (47) An / Admonition / to my Lord / Protector / and his / Coun-  
cil / Of their present Danger / with / The means to secure  
him and his POSTERITY in / the present greatnesse: With the  
generall applause and lasting Tranquillity of the / Nation /  
London, Printed in the year 1654, 4to pp. 10.

[Preface signed by J. H. A Proposal to come to arrangement with  
Chas. II. to have the crown after Cromwell's death.]

- (48) Parthenopœia / or the / History / of the / Most Noble and  
Renowned Kingdom / of / Naples / With the Dominions  
therunto annexed / and the Lives of all their / Kings / The  
First

First Part by that Famous Antiquary Scipio Mazzella / made English / by Mr. Samson Lennard / Herald of Armes. / The Second Part Compil'd / By James Howell Esq. ; who broches some supplements to the First part, drawn on / the Thread of the Story to these present Times, 1654 / . . . London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley . . . 1654 sm. fol. pp. xviii. + 191 + 62 + ii.

- (49) A Fourth / Volume / of / Familiar Letters / Upon various Emergent occasions / Partly  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Philosophical,} \\ \text{Political,} \\ \text{Historical,} \end{array} \right\}$  By James Howvell Esq. / Clerk of the Council to his / late Majestie. / *Senesco non Segnesco* / *Never Published before* / LONDON / Printed for Humphrey Moseley and are to be sold / at his Shop at the Princes Arms in / St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1655. 8vo pp. viii. + 126 + xij.

[Attached to the third ed. xxii. + 309 + iv. + 115 + ix. (Index to vol. ii.) + viii. (The Vote) + iv. + 30 + v. (Index to vol. iii.) and vol. iv. is here.]

- (50) *Finetti Philoxenis.* / Som choice / Observations / of / S<sup>r</sup> John Finett / Knight, / And Master of the Ceremonies / to the two last / Kings / Touching the Reception, and / Precedence, the Treatment and / Audience, the Puntillios and Con / tests of Forren / Ambassadors / in / England / *Legati ligant mundum.* London / Printed by T. R. for H. Twyford and G. Bedell and are / to be sold at their shops in Vine Court, Middle / Temple, and the Middle Temple Gate, 1656. 8vo pp. xii. + 280 + x.

[Dedicated to Visct. Lisle.]

- (51) A / relation / Of the / Life / of / Christina / Queen of Sweden / With her resignation of the crown, / voyage to Bruxels, and / Journey to Rome. / Whereunto is added, / Her geniuss. / Translated out of French, by J. H. / London 1656 [March 26.] 4to.

[Attributed doubtfully to J. H. in Brit. Mus. Cat. and without query in Bliss Cat. i. No. 2307.]

- (52) Londinopolis / An / Historicall Discourfe / or / Perlustration / of the City of / London / The Imperial Chamber, / and chief Emporium / of / Great Britain / whereunto is added another of the City of Westminster. / With / The Courts of Justice, Antiquities, and new / Buildings thereunto belonging. / By Jam. Howel Esq. / *Senesco non Segnesco* / London / Printed by J. Streater, for Henry Twiford, George Sawbridge / and John

John Place and are to be sold at their shops. 1657, sm. fol. pp. viii. + 407 + viii.

[With folding plate of the Thames and a portrait of Howell, E. Milan and Bosc. sculp. It is mainly a compilation from Stow, whose very words are often used, e.g. p. 123. It finishes with an interesting "Parallel by way of Corollary betwixt London and other great Cities of the World," pp. 381-407.]

- (53) A / Discourfe / of the / Empire / And of the Election of  
A KING of the / Romans the greatest Buſineſs of / Chriſten-  
dom now in A / *gitation* / As alſo / Of the Colledg of Electors /  
their particular *Interests* and who is moſt likely to be the /  
next Emperor / *Βυ μινεω Μάκρον* / J. *Senefco, non Segneſco* H. /  
Printed by F. L. for Charles Webb at the *Bores* / Head in  
S. *Pauls* Church-yard / 1658 [May 29]. 12mo + iv. + 109 + x.

[Also another title page "for *Rich. Lowndes* at the *White-Lyon*, near the little North door of S. *Pauls*. 1638." With advertisement from Lowndes. At end "*Infantium cerebri* / *Quadragesimus*," Holborn Cal. Jan. 1658.]

- (54) Englands / Alarm / The / State-Maladies / And Cure : / A  
Mirror to the / Soldiers / And / A Parallel to Egypts Plagues  
with Eng / lands ſinnes : / To which is added, A perpetuall  
Almanack. / By J. H. A Lover of Englands Peace / London  
Printed by Tho. Johnson, 1659. 4to pp. 8.

[All in verſe.]

- (55) A brief / Admonition / of / ſome of the / Inconveniences /  
of all the three moſt Famous / Governments / Known to  
the World / With their Compariſons together / London,  
Printed, 1659. 4to pp. i. + 6.

[Preface "To all honeſt diſinterreſted Common Wealths men," ſigned J. H.]

- (56) Englands Joy, / Expreſſed in the 'ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ / To the  
moſt Renowned Man of Honor, and Temporal Redeemer of  
the / Prince, Peers, and People of this Land, / His Excel-  
lency / The Lord General Monck. / . . . / London, Printed  
for M. B. 1660 [June 25] ſing. ſh. fol. double cols. verſe.

[Signed J. H.]

- (57) Lexicon Tetraglotton, / An / Engliſh-French-Italian-Spaniſh /  
Dictionary : / Whereunto is adjoined / A large Nomenclature  
of the proper Terms / (in all the four) belonging to ſeveral  
Arts and Sciences, to Recreations, to / Profeſſions both  
Liberal and Mechanick &c. / With another Volume of the  
Choiceſt / Proverbs / In all the ſaid Tounge, (conſiſting of  
divers compleat Tomes) and the *Engliſh* tranſlated into the  
other



other Three, to take off the reproch which useth to be cast upon *Her*, That / *She is but barren in this point and those* Proverbs *She / hath are but flat and empty.* / Moreover there are fundry familiar *Letters* and *Verses* running all in *Proverbs* with a particular Tome of the *British* or old *Cambrian* / *Sayed Sawes* and *Adages* which the Author thought fit to annex thereunto, and make / Intelligible for their great Antiquity and Weight : / Lastly, there are five Centuries of New Sayings which in tract of Time may serve / for Proverbs to Posterity / By the Labours and Lucubrations of James Hovvell, Esq. ; / *Senesco non Segnesco* / London / Printed by J. G. for *Cornelius Bee* at the Kinges Armes in Little Britain, 1660, fol. pp. xviii.

[Dedications, (1) To Chas. II., (2) Eng. Prov. to Earl Lindsey at Grimsthorp, (3) French Prov. to Lord Willoughby of Ersby, (4) Ital. Prov. to Sir W. Paction, (5) Spanish Prov. to Sir Lewis Dives, (6) Welsh Prov. to Richard, Earl of Carberry, (7) To Brian Duppa on the new proverbs.]

- {58} *Θῆρολογία.* / The / Parley / of / Beasts / or Morphundra / Queen of the / Inchanted Island / Wherein Men were found, who being transf / muted to Beasts, though proffered to be disinchanted, / and to become *Men* again ; yet, in regard of the / crying Sins, and rebellious humors of the Times, they prefer the Life of a *Brute* Animal / before *That* of a *Rational* Creature : / Which Fancy consists of various Philosophicall Dis / courses, With *Morall, Metaphysicall, Historical* and *Naturall* touching the declinings of the World and late / Depravation of *Human* Nature / With Reflexes upon the present state of most / Countries in Christendom / Divided into a XI Sections / By Jam. Howell, Esq. : / *Senesco, non Segnesco.* / The First Tome / London, Printed by *W. Wilson* for *William Palmer* at / the *Palm Tree* in *Fleet-street* near St. Dunstan's Church, 1660. sm. fol. pp. xvi. (including Key of Anograms) + 152 + xii. (orthography and Index).

[Dedicated to Lady Marie de la Fontaine. Melan plate second state as frontispiece, Plate of beasts facing it.]

- {59} *Philanglus* / Some sober Inspections / Made into the / Carriage and Consults / Of the *Late long Parlement* / Whereby occasion is taken to speak / of Parlements in / former Times &c., / With som Reflexes upon Government in general / With som Prophetic Paragraffs / The fourth edition with a Supplement of divers / signed passages which the other three had not. / By *Jam. Howell*, Esq. / *Cupio ut recte capiar.* / London, printed by T. L. for *W. Palmer* at the *Palm Tree* near *St. Dunstons*

*Dunstons Church in Fleet Street* 1660, 12mo pp. vi. + 180 + iv.

[Quotation from *Vocal Forest* dated 1638.]

- (60) *Divers Historicall Discourses of the late Popular Insurrections in Great Britain, and Ireland, Tending to the asserting of Truth in Vindication of their Majesties.* By James Howell, Esquire. Some of which Discourses were strangled in the Presse by the power which then swayed, but now are newly retriev'd, collected and Publish'd by Richard Royston. The First Tome. London, Printed by J. Grismond 1661.

[From MS. note in 'Bliss' copy of the Grismond issue.]

Also under the title :—

*Twelve / Several Treatises / Of the late Revolutions / In these / Three Kingdomes ; / Deducing the causes thereof from / Their originals. / By James Howell Esq. ; / His Majesties Historiographer Royal. / London: / Printed by J. Grismond, and are to be sold by / the Book-sellers in London and Westminster, / 1661, 8vo pp. ii. (Table of Contents) + 411.*

[Has a frontispiece not in the Royston issue. Contains the following.]

- (a) *Casual Discourses / and / Interlocutions / Betwixt / Patricius and Peregrin / Touching the Distractions of the Times / With the Causes of them.*

[Pp. 1-85. Cf. No. 7.]

- (b) *The / Second Part / of / A Discourse / 'Twixt / Patricius / and Peregrin, / Touching / the Distempers / of the / Times.*

[Pp. 87-119. Probably not printed before.]

- (c) *A / Sober and Seasonable / Memorandum / sent to the Right Honourable / Philip late Earl of Pembroke / and Montgomery, &c. / To mind him of the particular Sacred / Ties (besides the Common Oath of / Allegiance and Supremacy) whereby he was / bound to adhere to the King his Liege / Lord and Master, / and presented unto Him in the hottest Brunt of the late Civill Wars. / Juramentum ligamen conscientiae marinum.*

[Pp. 121-141. Same as No. 20.]

- (d) *His / Late Majesties Royal / Declaration / or / Manifesto / to all / Forrein Princes / and / States / Touching his constancy in the Protestant Religion. / Being traduced abroad by some Mi-*

Mi-/ licious and lying Agents / That he was wavering therein,  
and upon the high road of returning to *Rome*.

[Pp. 142-165, in Latin, French, and English, and Preface in which J. H. states that Salmasius quoted this when it first appeared. Same as No. 27.]

- (e) Apologs / or / Fables / Mythologiz'd / Out of whose Moralls  
the / State and *History* of the late unhap/py Defractions in  
*Great Britain* and / *Ireland* may be extracted; / Some of  
which Apologs have prov'd / Prophetical—*Nil est nisi*  
*Fabula Mundus*.

[Same as No. 6. Prefatory letter to my Honoured and known friend Sir J. C. Knight, and Postscript in which a reference to the True Informer.]

- (f) Of / the Land of Ire. / or, / A Discours / of that / Horrid  
Infurrection / and / Massacres / which happen'd lately / In  
Ireland; / By *Mercurius Hibernicus* / Who discovers unto  
the World the / True Causes and Incendiaries thereof. / In  
Vindication / Of His Majesty, who is most maliciously /  
Traduc'd to be Accessory thereunto; / which is as damnable  
a Lie as possibly / could be hatched in Hell; which is the /  
Staple of Lies / A *Lie* stands upon one Legg.—/ *Truth*  
upon two.

[Twelve Treatises 199-230. Same as No. 12. Dated from Fleet 3 Nonas Apriles, 1643.]

- (g) The Sway / of the / Sword / or a Discours / of the Militia  
Train'd Band / or / Common Soldiery / of the Land; / Prov-  
ing, / that the Power and Command thereof in Chief belongs  
to / the *Ruling Prince*, and to no other / *Sine Gladio nulla*  
*defensis*.

[Pp. 233-59. Dated 3 Non. Marcas 1645.= Instruments of a King, No. 23.]

- (h) An / Italian / Perspective, / Through which / Great Britain /  
(without any / Multiplying Art) may clearly *see* / Her present  
Danger / And *foresee* Her future / Destruction / If not timely  
prevented / *Perditio tua ex te Anglia*.

[Pp. 263-304 "2-12 Aug. 1647, Heading of letter," An Account &c. No. 19.]

- (i) A / Nocturnal Progreſs: / or / a Perambulation / of most /  
countreys / in / Christendom, / Performed in One Night by  
strength / of the *Imagination*. / Which progresſe terminates  
in these / *North-West* Isles / And declares the woful con-  
fusions / They are involv'd at Present.

[Pp. 307-338. Dated Ides Dec. 1645. Same as No. 15.]

(j)

- (j) A / Vindication / of his / Majesty / touching a Letter he wrote to Rome, &c.

[Pp. 339-370. Not previously printed.]

- (k) A / Glance / upon the / Isle of Wight, / and Upon the unparallel'd Concessions of Grace / His / Majesty / pass'd in that Treaty, &c. / Concluding with the horrid / Murder committed afterwards / upon His Sacred Person / *Cui dabit partes scelus expiant Jupiter.*

[Twelve Treatises, pp. 373-93. "25 Feb. 1648."]

- (l) Advice / Sent from the prime Statesmen / of Florence / How / England may come / to Herself again, / which is, / To call in the King, / Not upon / Articles / But in a true confident way : / Which *Advice* came immediately upon / the Readmission of the *Secluded Members*, / and *Coppies* thereof being delivered to the chiefeft of them / It produc'd *happy Effects*.

[Twelve Treatises, 397-411. "Florence 12 March 1659."]

- (61) A Cordial for the Cavaliers. London 1661.

["Answer'd as soon as it peep'd abroad by Rog. L'Estrange in a book entit. *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*: which giving offence to divers persons, he published a second edition of it, with his name and a preface."—Anthony à Wood.]

- (62) Some Sober Inspections made into those Ingredients that went to the Composition of a Late Cordial, called a Cordial for the Cavaliers. Lond. 1661.

[Referred to and answered in Sir. R. L'Estrange's *A Modest Plea both for the Caveat and for the Author of it, with some Notes upon Mr. James Howell and his Sober Inspections*, 1661.]

- (63) A Brief / account / of the Royal Matches / or / Matrimonial Alliances / Which the Kings of England have / made from time to time since the / year 800 to this present 1662. / Collected by a careful collation of *History* with *Records*. London / Printed by J. G. for H. Brome at the Gun / in Ivy-lane, M. DC. LXII. 4to., pp. 6.

[Halkett-Laing, No. 259.]

- (64) A New / English / Grammar / Prescribing as certain Rules as / the Language will have for For- / reners to learn *English* / There is also another Grammar of the / *Spanish* or *Castilian* Tongue / With some general remarks upon the / *Portugues Dialect* &c. / Whereunto is annexed / A Discours or Dialog containing a / *Perambulation* of *Spain* and *Portugall* / which may

may serve for a direction how to travel through both countreys  
&c. / For the service of Her Majesty whom God preserve /  
London / Printed for T. Williams, H. Brome and H. Marfh /  
1662. 8vo pp. viii. + 175 + 84 + xii.

[Dedicated to Catherine of Braganza by "Don Diego Howel." A  
head of the Queen as frontispiece, the Milan plate second state cut  
down at end. The B. M. copy is that presented to Chas. II. with  
Howell's writing on fly-leaf. At end "Liberorum Cerebri / Quintus /  
Post Quadraginta." /

A Spanish letter made up of Proverbs translated into English, and  
the same English translated into Spanish, pt. ii. pp. 53-79.]

- (65) Concerning the Surrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon  
good Grounds. Lond. 1664, 8vo.

- (66) Mr. Howel's / Poems / Upon divers Emergent / Occasions /  
London / Printed by James Cottrel / 1664. 12mo pp. xiv.  
+ 127.

[Collected by P. Fisher, who dedicates it to Bishop King and gives a  
long biographical Latin poem on J. H. "Mandunensis," informing us  
that Harley was his schoolmaster. Includes all the poems in *Fam.  
Lett.*, those before *Lustra Ludovici*, *Londinopolis*, *The German Diet*,  
*Eromena*, *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, *Nomenclature*, *Dodona's Grove*, *Par-  
thenope*, *S. P. Q. V.*, *Therologia*; also dedicatory poems before Bp.  
Andrews' *Meditations*, Herbert of Cherbury's *Meditations*, Beaumont  
and Fletcher's *Works*, Dr. Aylar's *Poems*, Cartwright's *Poems*, Loveday's  
*Masterpiece of Love*, Wallace's *Astraea*, J. Wright's translation of Bellay,  
N. Johnson's *Pyrrander*, Benlowes' *Divine Theophila*, Charleton's *New  
Survey*, and Lovelace's *Posth. Poems*, and Elegies on Dan. Caldwell,  
p. 98, Dr. Howell p. 107, to R. Altham 110, 114.]

- (67) *Florus Hungaricus*: or the history of Hungaria and Tran-  
sylvania deduced from the original of that nation and their  
setling in Europe in the year of our Lord 461, to this  
dangerous and suspectful period of that Kingdom by the  
present Turkish invasion, anno 1664. London, 1664. 8vo  
pp. 12 b-t 302.

[Laing-Halkett. No. 936.]

- (68) ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙ Α-ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: / A / Discourse / Concerning the /  
Precedency / of / Kings: / Wherein the Reasons and Argu-  
ments / of the Three greatest Monarchs of Christendom /  
who claim a several Right Thereunto / Are faithfully Col-  
lected, and Renderd / Whereby occasion is taken to make  
*Great Britain* bet- / ter understood then some Forren Authors  
(ei- / ther out of Ignorance or Intereft) have repre- / sented  
Her in order to this Particular / Whereunto is also adjoyned /  
A distinct Treatise of Ambassadors &c. / Symbolum Authoris /  
*Senesco non Segnesco*. / London; / Printed for *Sam. Speed*  
at

at the Rainbow; and *Chr. Eccleston* / at the middle shop under St. Dunstons Church in *Fleet-street*, 1664. fol. pp. xii. + 219.

[Dedicated to Chas. II., a fine portrait of whom as frontispiece. Melan portrait of Howell second state at end. The B. M. copy is that presented to Chas. II. and is on large paper. At end "*Liberorum Cerebri / Sextus / Post Quadraginta.*" ]

- (69) *Προοίμια Βασιλική* / Differtatio / de / Præcedentea Regum / In Qua / Rationes & Argumenta / Potentiorum Europæi Orbis / Monarcharum, / Qui Jus Anticedendi sibi vindicant, / exactè collecta sunt, nec minus / fideliter exhibita / Industriâ D. Jacobi Howell Authoris / *Numerosî*, & exquestitiffum / Ex *Anglicano* Sermonè in Latinum verfa labore / B Harrifi L. P. / Huic adjungitur alius equisdem Authoris / Translatus de Legatis. / Latine redditus a D. J. Harmaro / Nuper L. Gr. P. P. *Oxonii* / Londini / Prostant apud *Sam. Thomson* ad Caput Episcopi in / Cœmeterio Paulino; & *Sam. Speed* ad insigne Iridis / apud juxta portam Templi Interioris, 1664. 8vo. pp. xxx. + 359.
- (70) A French Grammar, and a Dialogue consisting of all Gallicisms with Additions of the most useful and significant Proverbs. London, fol.

[ "Printed at London twice, the last time was in 1673," A. à W.]

In addition to these, Howell wrote introductory letters to (1) R. Jones *Gemma Cambrium* 1652; (2) Judge Rumsey *Organon Salutis* 1657 v. *infra* p. 661. (3) translation of Sandoval's *Civil Wars of Spain* 1652; (4) Davies of Kedwally's trans. of De la Chambre's *Art to Know Men* 1665, and wrote the Dedication of Needham's translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum* which was to the Parliament in 1653, and to the King in 1663 when Howell rewrote it. A list of his commendatory poems in note to No. 66, to which add A. G. D'Ouvrilly's *False Favourite disgraced*, 1657 (*Cens. Lit.*, ii. 76).

#### PSEUDEPEGRAPHICA.

The following works have been attributed to Howell by various authorities :

- (1) *A character of England* 1659.

[Watt, Bliss, really by J. Evelyn.]

- (2) *A brief character of the Low Countries* 1652.

[Watt : really by O. Feltham. The error is due to the fact that these little books are printed in the same *format* and by the same printer as the *People of Scotland*, No. 32, with which they are usually bound up.]

(3)

- (3) Translation of Valentinus' *Triumphant Chariot of Antimony* Lond. 1661.

- (4) Translation of Paracelsus' *Archodoxes*, Lond. 1661.

- (5) Translation of Paracelsus' *Aurora* 1659.

[These three are attributed to Howell by the Brit. Mus. Cat. (though doubtfully) because by "J. H. Oxon." But the same published a third treatise of Paracelsus in 1667, a year after Howell's death, the style is quite different and Howell numbers his works after 1660.]

- (6) *Diary of Sir John Finett*.

[2. N and Q. iv. 73 : a confusion with *Finetti Philoxenis*, No. 50.]

- (7) *The Grecian Story to which is annexed the Grove* 1684.

[Grenville Catalogue, pt. ii. : a confusion with *The Vocal Forest*, No. 1. Really by J. Harrington.]

- (8) Translation of Sir K. Digby's *Discourse*, &c. 1659.

[Said by Aubrey, *Lives* ii., to have been done from the French by Howell.]

I am myself somewhat doubtful of the attribution of Nos. 18, 22, above. Indeed, Howell's period was especially rich in writers under the initials J. H., e.g., J. Heasley, J. Henshawe, J. Hewitt, J. Hall, J. Hinde, J. Hayward, J. Harrington. Cf. too the J. H. who signs the letter in *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xxiii., the second J. H. of Forde's *Familiar Epistles*, a J. H. in *Hist. MSS. Com.*, X. iv. 74, and the J. H. who writes introductory verses to the *Eikon Basilike*.\*

#### EDITIONS OF THE "LETTERS."

There is some confusion in the numbering of the editions. Four issues occurred during Howell's lifetime *supra*, Nos. 14, 21, 33, 49. But of these No. 21 was a second volume and No. 49 a fourth, issued with a reprint of the preceding volumes. There were thus practically only three *editions*, the quarto of 1645, the octavo of 1650, and the octavo of 1655, with which a fourth volume was bound up. The so-called 5th edition of 1673 is thus really the fourth. Then follow editions all in 8vo of about 500 pp. and all but one in London in 1688 ("6th"), 1708 ("7th"), 1713† ("8th"),

\* By a curious coincidence Sir Walter Scott chose J. H. as the initials of the imaginary writer of the "Private Letters" of the reign of James I., which were afterwards transformed into the "Fortunes of Nigel," but were evidently suggested by the *Epistole Ho-Eliane* (Lockhart, *Life*, *sub anno* 1821, c. liv. p. 467, gives a specimen of one of the "Letters").

† This seems the rarest of all; neither Bliss nor Mr. Hazlitt had seen a copy, nor is it in the Brit. Mus. or Bodl. I have been lucky enough to get one. It was published "For the Booksellers," but has on the plate the name of T. Guy, who published the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions (*Athen.* Mar. 15, 1890). The editions after the eighth were published by "the trade."

1726 ("9th"), 1737 ("10th"), 1753 (Aberdeen, abridged, also called "10th"), 1754 ("11th"). The present is thus really and nominally the twelfth edition, and practically the only edition in which there has been any editing.

The only piece of bibliomania I can connect with the book is the production of a magnificent Grangerised copy of the book in three vols. which belonged to the banker-forgery, Fauntleroy, and cost him £152, 5s. (5 *N. and Q.* x. 520). I have traced this to a bookseller's in the Piazza, Covent Garden (slip in Forster's copy, South Kens.), but should be glad to hear of its present whereabouts.

This present edition has already had its adventures before publication. Planned in 1887, a prospectus was issued in 1888, and the first volume, containing the text and supplement, was issued to subscribers in March 1890 unbound and without proper title-page. The documents contained in Supplement I. were calmly utilised without acknowledgment in the Introduction to an edition of the First Book of the Letters, which was issued in two volumes as part of the Stott Library in the autumn of 1890 (see *Athen.* Oct. 11, 1890). Tardy recognition, owing to my protest, was made in a second issue of the edition, but the calm use of whole documents without acknowledgment before their actual publication beats the record in such things. A few copies were bound and issued to the public at an enhanced price in 1890, so that the present issue in two equal parts is the third "state" of this edition—I hope not the worst one.

The few remaining large paper copies of the book were destroyed by fire at Messrs. Ballantyne's in 1891, so that this part of the edition is already out of print before publication.





## SUPPLEMENT II.



### DOCUMENTS, &c., OF AND ABOUT HOWELL.

*Mostly from Unprinted Sources.*

#### XXII.

##### HOWELL AND THE POWDER OF SYMPATHY.

(Sir K. Digby. *A Late Discourse . . . touching the cure of Wounds by the Powder of Sympathy. . . . Rendered . . . by R. White. Second edition. 1658, p. 6-11.*)

Mr *James Howell* (well known in France for his publick works, and particularly his *Dendrologia*, translated into French by *Monsieur Baudoin*), coming, by chance, as two of his best friends were fighting a duel, he did his endeavour to part them, and putting himself between them, seized with his left hand vpon the hilt of the sword of one of the Combatants, while with his right hand he laid hold of the blade of the other, they being transported with fury one against the other, strugled to rid themselves of the hindrance their friend made that they should not kill one another; and one of them roughly drawing the blade of his sword, cuts to the very bone the nerves and muscles of Mr. *Howell's* hand; and then the other disengaging his hilts, gave a cross blow on his adversaries head which glanced towards his friend, who, heaving vp his fore hand to save the blow, he was wounded on the back of his hand, as he had been before within. . . . They bound up his hand with one of his garters to close the veins which were cut and bled abundantly. They brought him home and sent for a Surgeon. But this being heard at Court, the King sent one of his own Surgeons, for his Majesty much affected the said Mr *Howell*.

It was my chance to be lodged hard by him; and four or five  
II. 2 U days

days after, as I was making myself ready, he came to my House and prayed me to view his wounds, for I vnderstand, said he, that you haue extraordinary remedies vpon such occasions, and my Surgeons apprehend some fear that it may grow to a Gangrene, and so the hand must be cut off. . . . I told him that I would willingly serue him, but if haply he knew the manner how I could cure him, without touching or seeing him, it may be he would not expose himself to my manner of curing, because he would think it peradventure either ineffectual or superstitious; he replied, That the wonderfull things which many have related vnto me of your way of curing, makes me nothing doubt at all of its efficacy; and all that I have to say vnto you is comprehended in the *Spanish* Proverb, *Hagafa el milagro y hagala Mahoma*, Let the miracle be done, though Mahomet do it.

I asked him for anything that had the blood vpon it, so he presently sent for his Garter wherewith his hand was first bound: and having called for a Bason of water, as if I would wash my hands, I took a handfull of Powder of Vitriol, which I had in my study, and presently dissolved it. As soon as the bloody garter was brought me, I put it in the Bason, observing in the interim what Mr *Howel* did, who stood talking with a Gentleman in a corner of my Chamber, not regarding at all what I was doing: but he started suddenly, as if he had found some strange alteration in himself; I asked him what he ailed? I know not what ailes me, but I find that I feel no more pain, methinks that a pleasing kind of freshnesse, as it were a wet cold Napkin did spread over my hand, which hath taken away the inflammation that tormented me before. I replied, since that you feel already so good an effect of my medicament, I advise you to cast away all your playsters, onely keep the wound clean and in a moderate temper twixt heat and cold. This was presently reported to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and a little while after to the King, who were both very curious to know the circumstance of the businesse, which was that after dinner I took the Garter out of the water and put it to dry before a great fire; it was scarce dry, but Mr *Howel's* servant came running that his master felt as much burning as ever he had done if not more, for the heat was such as if his hand were betwixt coals of fire: I answered . . . I know the reason of this new accident . . . Therevpon he went, and at the instant I did put again the garter into the water: therevpon he found his Master without any pain at all. To be brief, there was no sense of pain afterward; but within five or six dayes the wounds were cicatrized and entirely healed.

to S. &  
S' I  
relye

## XXIII.

JAMES HOWELL TO SECRETARY NICHOLAS.

*(Record Office, S.P. Dom. Chas. I., v. ccxx. 70).*S<sup>r</sup>

My lord of Leiceſter being nominated Embaſſad<sup>r</sup> extraordinary for Denmark intends to embarque himſelf at North yarmouth, therefore his lo<sup>p</sup> deſires y<sup>t</sup> Captaine Pennington who is appointed to tranſport him thither in y<sup>e</sup> Convertine ſhold be at that port with all conuenient ſpeed, and in the interim that one of the whelps ſhold come to Tilbury to take in his furniture and ordinary fort of Servants, and to go about to the great ſhipp, and to attend him to the Sound where his lo<sup>pp</sup> intends, god willing, to land ; yo<sup>u</sup> may pleaſe to gett a warrant for Cap. Pennington to this effect, fo I reſt

Yo<sup>r</sup> very affeccionate

Seruant

JA: HOWELL.

WESM<sup>r</sup> this

15 of July 1632.

*(Endorsed).*

To my worthy  
good frend Edward  
Nicholas eſq<sup>r</sup> at his  
houſe in

Weſtm<sup>r</sup> this*[in Nicholas' ſcript]*16<sup>o</sup> July 1632M<sup>r</sup> Howell to me

about a ſhipp for

my lo: of Leiſter.

## XXIV.

JAMES HOWELL TO CAPT. PENNINGTON.

*(Rec. Off. S.P. Dom. Charles I., ccxxi. 34).*S<sup>r</sup>

My lo: of Leiceſter being appointed Embaſſad<sup>r</sup> extraordinary for Denmark it hath pleaſed his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to nominat yo<sup>u</sup> to tranſport him thither, my lord was very glad at the election, and willd me to intimate ſo much vnto yo<sup>u</sup> with his kind commends. He intends to land at Elſinore for w<sup>h</sup> place he doubts not but yo<sup>u</sup> ſhall take choyce of an expert pylot, when yo<sup>u</sup> have landed my lo: Ne<sup>xt</sup> . . . Weston in France, he deſires yo<sup>u</sup> wold make all the ſpeed yo<sup>u</sup> can to Tilbury where he intends to em<sup>ploy</sup> the greateſt number of his traine w<sup>ch</sup> in all will come to about

about 50: and his furniture; he hoped to haue had one of y<sup>e</sup> whelps to go along w<sup>th</sup> him, but they being employed elſewiſe he muſt make y<sup>e</sup> bolder with y<sup>e</sup> Kings ſhipp. When yo<sup>u</sup> haue taken in his furniture & Seruants at Tilbury, he deſires yo<sup>u</sup> wold [make] about for North yarmouth, where his lo: purpoſes to embarque himſelf, & make prouiſion for his extraordinaries. M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas told me y<sup>t</sup> he hath allready ſent yo<sup>u</sup> a warrant from y<sup>e</sup> Lords Com<sup>rs</sup> to this effect and for a pylot. Therefore I will trouble yo<sup>u</sup> no further at this time

Yo<sup>r</sup> humble ſeruant

JA: HOWELL.

WESTM<sup>r</sup> *this*  
25 of July  
1632.

(Endorsed).

To my much  
honored friend Captaine  
Pennington aboard his  
Ma<sup>ties</sup> ſhipp royall the  
Conuertine this

[In Pennington's ſcript]  
A lett<sup>r</sup> from M<sup>r</sup>  
Howell y<sup>e</sup> E of  
Leiſters Secretary  
25<sup>th</sup> July 1632.

XXV.

JAMES HOWELL TO CAPTAIN PENNINGTON.

(*Rec. Off. S.P. Dom. Chas. I., ccxxii. 59.*)

Much honored S<sup>r</sup>

In my laſt j acquainted yo<sup>u</sup> with ſome ocaſions of delaye, as yo<sup>u</sup> well knowe employments of this nature are comonly ſubiect vnto, that haue ſomewhat retarded my lord embaffad<sup>r</sup> proceedings for his intended voyage but, god willing, againſt Saturday next or Munday at furtheſt the hoy wilbe ready to carry my lords ſeruants & furniture to yo<sup>u</sup>. My lord purpoſed to haue ſent his ſteward to yarmouth before, to make prouiſion for freſh victualls, but vnderſtanding how S<sup>r</sup> Henry Vane & others haue bin accommodated by yo<sup>u</sup>, his lo<sup>pp</sup> hath purpoſe to know whither conueniently & w<sup>th</sup>out trouble yo<sup>u</sup> can do the like courteſie for him, for w<sup>ch</sup> he will haue a conſideracon in ſuch a degree of noblenes that ſhall giue yo<sup>u</sup> euery way contentment. his lo<sup>pp</sup> will haue at his owne table, beſide himſelf, ſome 8. or 9. beſides of ſeruingmen, footmen, and cokes, ther ſhalbe ſent in the hoy a buck or two baked in pies & 4. or 5. of y<sup>e</sup> faireſt chines of beefe pickled, & ſome wine. S<sup>r</sup> I deſire to know ſpeedily by this bearer, whither my lord ſhall relye  
vpon

vpon yo<sup>u</sup> for this or no. I presume my lords voyage wilbe at an end at Hamborough. So in haft I ceafe & rest

Yo<sup>rs</sup> to ferue yo<sup>u</sup>  
JA. HOWELL.

29<sup>o</sup> of Aug.  
1632.

(Endorsed).

To my much honored  
frend Captaine Pennington  
aboard his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Shipp,  
royall at Margett-road  
the Conuertine

[In Pennington's script]

1632

A lett<sup>r</sup> from Mr. Ja.  
Howell y<sup>e</sup>  
29 August 1632.

This

# XXVI.

JAMES HOWELL TO CAPTAIN PENNINGTON.

(*Rec. Off. S.P. Dom. Chas. I., ccxxii. 10.*)

Much honored S<sup>r</sup>

Yo<sup>rs</sup> of the 30<sup>th</sup> of the last was deliuered me by the same messenger j fent, I comunicated y<sup>e</sup> particulars thereof to my lord embassad<sup>r</sup> and his lo<sup>pp</sup> is nowe resolved to go for the Elve & no further; and to embarque himself with his whole traine at Margett, & herein (as formerly for not coming to Tilbury by reason of the flatts) he approues of yo<sup>r</sup> aduise & intends, god willing, to followe it.

Ther are some addico<sup>ns</sup> made to the Embassage w<sup>ch</sup> is the reason of this delay, & truly my lord thinks y<sup>e</sup> time tedious that he is not aboard of yo<sup>u</sup>, to morrowe we lade the Hoy, so that j hope she wilbe with yo<sup>u</sup> on Saturday, & vpon Wenefday following or Thurfd<sup>y</sup> at farthest my lord, god willing, intends to be at Margett with his whole trayne; in the interim if yo<sup>u</sup> please to comaund yo<sup>r</sup> seruants (nowe that it is a fett voyage) to make a competent prouision for my lords table, and his company of whose number j acquainted yo<sup>u</sup> in my last, my lord will esteeme it a very speciall fauour. So vntill my next w<sup>ch</sup> shalbe by the hoy, I kisse yo<sup>r</sup> hands and rest

Yo<sup>rs</sup> to ferue yo<sup>u</sup>  
JA HOWELL.

I am fory my last  
except one miscarried,  
for j trusted to M<sup>r</sup>  
Nicholas his conueyance.

WESTM<sup>r</sup> this  
5 of 7<sup>ber</sup> 1632.

(Endorsed).

(Endorsed).

To my most honored frend  
 Captaine Pennington aboard  
 his Ma<sup>ties</sup> shipp the  
 Conuertine in Margett  
 Road this  
 with speed.

[In Pennington's script]  
 A lett' from M<sup>r</sup>  
 Howell y<sup>e</sup> 7 7<sup>ber</sup>  
 1632.

## XXVII.

## ADMIRAL PENNINGTON'S LOG.

(Hijl. MSS. Comm. 10. iv. 278-9.)

- [1632] Sept. 12. Wee received my Lord of Leicester's baggage and some of his servants.
13. Wee weyed . . . and flood in as neere Margett as wee could, where my Lord Ambassador imbarked himself—about 8 a clock—with all his trayne, at which instant wee flood of to sea.
16. About noone we made the Flye.
17. About 7 a clock in the morninge wee had sight of Holbike Land [Heligoland]. . . . About one a clock in the afternoone wee were as high as the first boye goinge into the Elve, where wee anchored.
18. Wee came to an anchor some 2 leagues short of Browne-bottle [Brunsbüttel]. This afternoone my Lord Ambassador's Secretary [Howell] went ashore, my Lord goinge likewise in our Pinnace, but his Lordship returned aboard again before night, and in the eveninge our boats went up to Loxtoad [Glückstadt] with some of his gentlemen.
19. In the forenoone wee shipt all my Lord's trunks and baggage and some of his servants in a hoye, and about 11 a clock my Lord and the rest of his followers left our shipp and went in our long-boat and pinnace to Luxtoad, wee presently setting sayle with the wind SE. and by S. and flood up as high as Flyborough, where we anchored.
- Oct. 30. Wee weyed and fell downe some 2 leagues below Brownbottle.
- Nov. 1. Wee weyed and fell downe over the flattes as lowe as Rose Beacon, when we anchored . . . that wee might be in redynes to sett sayle when my Lord Ambassador should come aboard.

13. Some of my Lord Ambassador's servants came aboard with his prouisions and baggage.
21. The Earle of Lister, Lord Ambassador extra to the Kinge of Denmarke, and Sir Robert Anstruther, Lord Ambassador to the Emperor, came aboard with all their trayne.
22. We weyed and sett sayle from before Rixkbottle
29. Anchored in Margett Roads.
30. We landed the Earle of Leister . . . and Sir Robert Anstruther . . . with some of their trayne in safety at Margett, and at 2 in the afternoone wee shipt all their baggage in 2 small barkes for London, the rest of their followers going about with it.

## XXVIII.

JAMES HOWELL TO SIR JOHN COKE.

(Earl Cowper MSS. ii. 176. *Hist. MSS. Com.*)

I presume Sir J. North hath before now been with your Honour about a manuscript of mine which contains some small prints of my observations abroad by way of historical discourse, couched under a disguise.

There are many things that redound much to the honour of our King and State, and all is truth and *res gesta*. I humbly crave a favourable construction, and attend your perusal.

Feb. 20, 1637[-8], London.

*Endorsed.* Jam Howell to Sir J. Coke,  
Knight, His Majesty's Principal Secretary  
of State, at Newmarket.

## XXIX.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND THE HOWELLS.

(Commons Journals, ii. 478, 486, 850.)

*Die Lunæ 14<sup>o</sup> Martii 1641.*

Resolved vpon the Question, That Doctor Howell shall be forthwith sent for, as a Delinquent, by the Serjeant at Arms attending on this House for speaking very dangerous words, &c.

*Die*



*Die Sabbati 19<sup>o</sup> Martii 1641.*

Doctor *Howell* who was formerly sent for as a Delinquent, for Words that were informed on *Monday* last to be spoken by him, was called to the Bar: and did then with serious Protestation & Asservations, absolutely deny the Words.

*Resolved* that D<sup>r</sup> *Howell* shall be now discharged from any further Restraint.

*Die Lunæ 14 Novembris 1642.*

*Resolved* that Mr *James Howell* be forthwith committed to the Fleet, there to remain during the Pleasure of the House.

### XXX.

PRYNNE ON HOWELL.

(*A Moderate Apology*, pp. 1-3, 5).

Being then publicly taxed by Master *James Howell*, though in a modest candid manner, in his *Preheminence and Pedegree of Parliaments*, Pag. 10, 11, &c. (newly printed), as criminall of offering him very hard measure, nay of doing him apparent wrong, in stiling him in a Book entituled, *The Popish Royal Favourite*, p. 42, NO FRIEND TO PARLIAMENT, AND A MALIGNANT; a character which (he saith) *he deserves not, and disdaines*; I shall give both himself and the world this brieve account of these harsh expressions, not any wayes to traduce this learned gentleman (whose excellent parts I highly honour), but to acquit my selfe from pretended guilt, of a malicious or groundlesse Calumny.

The title of a *Malignant*, since the late deplorable differences betweene his *Majesty* and the Parliament, is growne into such common and univerfall use, that none but *Neuters* and *Ambo-dexters* (if they) either doe or can evade it. The *Cavaliers* and *Royalists* on the one side, the two Houses of Parliament and their adherents on the other side, both in their Discourses and Writings stile all such who are opposite or are not professedly cordiall to either of them, *MALIGNANTS*; a truth so experimentally evident as needs no demonstration. It was Mr. *Howells* disaster among others (as himself engenoussly confesseth, pag. 13) *to fall so heavily under the displeasure of the highest court of Parliament*; that he was upon some informations given in against him by its authority and direction apprehended and committed to the Fleet (where he has continued prisoner sundry months, and yet remains) his papers seised, his Letters intercepted, for this cause especially (as I was credibly informed from some Members of Parliament, who had the

the perusal of his Papers) that he had been in armes against the Parliament and was a *dangerous* MALIGNANT, MUCH DESAFECTED TO THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT, *who by reason of his abilities and acquaintances with Malignants might probably do much mischief, and very ill offices against the Parliament, if not restrained.*

Receiving therefore such a *Character* of his unknown person and disposition, from so good authority, and meeting with sundry satyirical passages in his *Vocal Forrest*, and in his *Parley between Patricius and Peregrine* against this and former Parliaments (discovering a more than ordinary malignity in him against such Assemblies;) having occasion to transcribe some passages out of him, touching the Kings voyage into *Spain*, and some occurrences during his abode there, (to satisfie *Malignants, and Opposites to the Present Parliaments proceedings*) in some Letters and Complements then passed between the Pope and King: I imagined with my self that I could not probably so clearly convince, and resolve them in this particular by any printed authorities whatsoever as by this of *Mr. Howells*, reputed one of that party by the Parliament, and most who knew; and that other Malignant Readers unacquainted with his person or inclination, might take notice of him, as one addicted to the Kings Party (without any thought to injure or defame the Gentleman more then any other of the Kings adherents) I used these expressions of him: *Now that such Letters really passed between the King and Pope during his abode in Spain, appears not only by divers ancient printed copies of them in sundry languages, but is also thus expressly attested by Mr. James Howell (an attendant upon his Majesty in that expedition), NO FRIEND TO PARLIAMENTS, BUT A MALIGNANT NOW IN CUSTODY, in his Vocall Forrest, &c.* If *Mr. Howell* be so great a Royalist, as this Book of his proclaims, and most repute him; I presume he will esteeme it no Calumny, nor dishonour in this age to be stiled *No friend to Parliament, but a Malignant*; this being the chief ground of his present *Dures* in the *Fleet*, and that title wherein most *Cavaliers* now Glory: But if his imprisonment hath made him, *as much a friend and as reall an affectionate humble servant and votary to the Parliament as possibly I can be, and that he will live and die with these affections about him* as he now professeth in print, I shall rejoyce at his conversion, and readily retract my censure of him upon his reconciliation to this Parliament; and his *Retraction* of these Anti-Parliamentary Passages in his *Vocall Forrest*, that have given great offence (which he seems tacitly to confesse, pag. 18).

When this Gentleman, I say, shall have fully recanted these bitter passages against a former Parliament, with all his violent  
 Invectives

Invectives in his late *Discourse or Parley between Patricius and Peregrine* upon their landing in *France, touching the Civill Warres of England and Ireland*, suppressed at the Presse; the most *Malignant invective satyr* I have hitherto met with, against the Sovereign Jurisdiction of all our Parliaments, and the proceedings of the present Parliament, against which (as I was credibly informed) he had taken up offensive armes, being in the battle of *Edge hill*, I shall cordially retract my censure of him, till then I must appeal to his own conscience and the world, whether I have slandered or misreported him in the least degree.

## XXXI.

THE STATIONER TO THE READER.

(*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, 2nd ed. 1650.)

It pleas'd the Author to send me these ensuing *Letters* as a supplement to the greater Volume of *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, wher they could not be inserted then, because most of his papers, whence divrs of these letters are deriv'd, were under sequestration: And thus much I had in Commission to deliver.

HUMPHREY MOSELEY.

## XXXII.

DEDICATION TO SELDEN

In a copy of "Dodona's Grove."

Wood, *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii. 745 n.

Ex dono Authoris D. Johanni Selden Anglorum Trefmegisto, Viro, si quis Mortalium, Omniscio ad ornamentum Patriæ et Reipub. Literariæ Salutem nato, In cœlo scientiarum stellæ primæ magnitudinis, Restitutori Temporum Scriptorumque hujus sæculi facile principi, Opusculum hoc, Honoris ergo, mittitur archivis suis reponendum, pygmæum munus voluntatis gigantææ 3° non. Maii, 1652.

## XXXIII.

*Contemporary Notices of Howell's Works.*

A. DODONA'S GROVE.

(Wood, *Athenæ*, iii. 745.)

Much cried up and taken in the hands of curious people at its first publication.

(Digby,

(Digby, *Late Discourse*, p. 6.)

Mr. *James Howell* (well known in France for his public works, and particularly his *Dendrologia*).

B. PATRICIUS AND PEREGRINE.

(Prynne, *Modest Apology*, p. 5.)

Suppressed at the presse ; the most *Malignant invective Satyr* I have hitherto met with against the Sovereign Jurisdiction of all our Parliaments.

(Wood, *Athenæ*, iii. 476.)

Written by the author in the prison call'd the Fleet, presently after Edghill battel, being the first book that came forth for the vindication of his Majesty.

C. SOME SOBER INSPECTIONS.

(Hist. MSS. Com. v. 177.)

Sir W. Dugdale to Sir R. Lewisham, Oct. 9, 1655.

You will receive by the carrier two little books . . . the other a discourse [by], James Howell, called "Some sober inspections into the passages of the late Parliament," wherein cogging up [the] Protector (for to him he dedicates it) with some superlative language for destroying that monster (as he calls it) [he] hath taken the boldness to speak more truth, barefaced, than any man that hath wrote since they fate ; nor doth he [sp]are the Scot and Presbyterian. Read it through, I pray you, on my recommendation, though in some things he do commit little mistakes, and in others he doth blunder a little.

Sir R. L'Estrange, *A Modest Plea*, p. 32.

SOBER INSPECTIONS ? Why there was one I. H. that dedicated a discourse under this Title, *To his Highness the L: Protector* when he would have made himself *King*, wherein he compares OLIVER CROMWELL to CHARLES MARTEL . . . The Book indeed does mightily cry up the Royal Prerogative.

D.

## D. S.P.Q.V.

Sir R. L'Estrange, *l.c.* p. 34.

The said JAMES HOWELL, *Esq.*, in his *Survey of Venice*, dedicated to the SUPREME AUTHORITY of the Nation, the Parliament of England in 1651, is clearly for a COMMONWEALTH.

## E. LEXICON TETRAGLOTTON.

(Worthington's *Diary*, ed. Crossley, Chet. Soc. p. 349.)

Aug. 1661. Mr Howel, in his late Dictionary of Four Languages, hath an Appendix of Proverbs especially of the Old Sayings of the Welsh. This Appendix or Second part of the work would sell well if it were not printed with the Dictionary, which is not so desirable.

## F. POEMS.

(Inscription in Brit. Mus. Copy.)

Given me by Mr. James Howell the first of March 1663 at y<sup>e</sup> Rose in Christ's Alley.

F. WILLIAMS.

## G. DISCOURSE OF THE EMPIRE.

(Newcome's *Diary* (Chetham Soc.), p. 136.)

Friday Oct. 31 [1662] Was after at Matthew Greaves about an houre, went to prayer w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup>, and after read Howell about y<sup>e</sup> German Empire.

## H. SOBER INSPECTIONS.

L'Estrange, *l.c.* p. 36.

The very title speaks the Author no Physician; and he that stands condemned to read the Text, may swear he is no conjurer.

## XXXIV.

## L'ESTRANGE ON HOWELL.

(Notes upon Mr. Howell.)

If he that wrote the CAVEAT to the CAVALIERS had been of the Gentlemen's Counsel, that penn'd the CORDIAL, he should  
never

never have difowned the *Author*, and after that, have defended the matter of it. If it was *Well* done why was it *disclaim'd*; if *Ill* why is it *justified*. . . . The thing itself might have been spared; but then so *solemnly* to *disclaim* it is not *pro dignitate Historiographi Regii*. . . .

First to fob the poor *Cavaliers* with a *Cordial* like a *whipp'd Posset*, that's all *Froth*; and then to mend the matter by a sad Tale that wears a Title to give a Horse a *Vomit*: This is not kindly done.

The Author of the *Inspections* says indeed very acutely; *There are more J. H.'s than one*—and so say I, there may be more James Howells too. . . .

I knew at first who wrote the *Cordial*; but truly I had no Ambition to measure Pens with Mr. *Howell*, . . . No sooner was the *Inspections* publick, but my Stationer comes to me by Mr. *Howell's* Order with a *sleeveless story how ingenious a piece that same Cordial was; how much His Majesty was pleased with it*: with great Additions too, in favour of the person that composed it. . . .

Upon *Thursday* and *Friday* last out comes another miserable Paper done by the same hand and in justification of the former, which I must needs take notice of, for divers Reasons, whereof (I swear) the Author and the Thing itself are none.

## XXXV.

R. LOVEDAY TO HOWELL.

(Loveday's *Persuasive Secretary*, 1659, p. 46.)

## LETTER XXV.

*To Mr. H.*

Knowing how highly I value your society you cannot chuse but think me much displeased with those casual impediments that kept us so long afunder; but repining never made Fortune lesse peevish: but since you are there give me leave to husband the incommodity of your absence, by intreating such courtesies, as could we change places, I should with much alacrity perform for your self. My first request then is that if you latch any news that may prove a Cordial to our dying hopes, you will not grudge to send it me as a friendly aid that may help to put some sad thoughts

thoughts to flight. My next is the prosecution of a former desire that you would inquire of *M.* or any other Bookseller that is likely to inform you, if there be any new French book of an indifferent volume that is worth the Translating, and not enterprised by any other; if there be, let me desire you would send it me down, with *Cotgraves* Dictionary of the last edition; and for what you disburse, I shall appoint you where you shall receive it in London with some quantity besides which I shall desire you to send me. You may well think me unable for such an undertaking, but my worst success will bestow a trebble benefit, because I shall make it serve to beguile melancholy, check idleness, and better my knowledge in the Language; for the Book I am indifferent whether it be Romance, Essay, Treatise, History, or Divinity, so it be worth the rendering in our Language. You may either send them by *G. F.*, who lies at . . . and comes neerest to *Haughton*, or by *B.*, that comes to *Nottingham*, and lies at the *U.* . . . or by your own *Lincolnshire*-Carrier. Let me beg to hear from you by your next most pregnant opportunity, and I shall be industrious to let you see you have not sown these favours in a barren Soil, by conferring them upon one that will ever be studious to love and serve you.

R. L.

XXXVI.

T. FORDE TO HOWELL.

(Forde, *Fam. Letters*, p. 85.)

To MR. J. H.

Sir,

Having hitherto waited with silence, to hear of your receipt of my Letter, and finding none, makes me fearful that it miscarried in the *delivery*; and I am not ignorant or insensible of the many *abortives* of the Carriers *Midwifery*. But I hope your candor is sufficient to dispel all clouds of suspicion that might seem to eclipse my realitie, or to think that I am so much foe to my self as not to desire, or at least not to endeavour the gainful commerce of your letters. I am not ignorant that all kind of Learning hath been wrapt up in *Letters*. And I assure you, Sir, I shall, in the enjoyment of yours, think myself little less honoured, than I do *Lucilius* by Seneca's. Nor shall I be a little proud, that I may be any wayes (though but occasionally) instrumental to you to  
exercise

exercife your excellencie in this way: Neither do I altogether doubt of the pardon of my rude scribling, becaufe I am

*Sir (without compliment)*

*your very humble Servant*

T. F.

### XXXVII.

#### HOWELL'S APPLICATION FOR POST OF HISTORIOGRAPHER GENERALL.

(Cam. Univ. Lib. Oo. viii. 47, No. III.)

A Memorial concerning the appointment of a Minister of State, qualified with the title of Historiographer Generall.

It is humbly offered to Consideration,

That among those who are observed to be the prudentst & best policed nations ther is a Minister of State appointed & qualified with the title of Historiographer Generall, whose office is to digest in Writing and to transmitt to posterity the Actions and Counfells of that State, As also to vindicat them from all erroneous relations, traducements, and falsities which they who take all things vpon trust, and outward appeerances not founding the depths of things do use to obtrude vnto the world.

1. This minister is presumed to be an Artift this way, who will disdain to make of his History a meer Diary, by huddling together a confused heap of Materialls, but will take pains to polifh and reare them up to a Structure with all its due proportions.

2. One who will observe the method of providence in the dispensation of his judgments, making researches into the causes of them which seldom com together, but many yeers & sometimes a whole Century with a long train of contingencies intervene twixt y<sup>e</sup> Judgment & the Cause.

3. This Minister is known to be one who hath had pratique with the world abroad, who is verfd in languages, and in Modern Stories as well as Ancient.

4. This Minister among other priuiledges is allowed to enter into the Archives upon all occasions to see and search any Record new or old.

6. This Minister is allowed a liberall allowance out of the public stock, or som considerable comendam is appropriated to his office, wherby he may be made fitt to conuerſe at home, & correspond



correspond abroad with the best sort of men & furnish himself with the choicest Authors.

Sir Henry Wootton, besides the proudfhip of Eaton, had a pension of 500<sup>lb</sup>. per an: allowed him for to compile the English History as appears by the patent and dockett, but death prevented him.

JAMES HOWELL.

XXXVIII.

PAYNE FISHER'S ENCOMIUM.

(Howell's *Poems*, Introdn.)

De Ornatissimo,  
Viroq; omnifariam pererudito  
Acris, & Ignei Ingenii,  
Polyglotto ad Prodigium usq;  
Dom. JACOBO HOWELL *Maridunensi*,  
Tam ex Majorum *ceris*, quam sui Ipsius  
*Meritis* Armigero, &c.

*Sic Phoebi Delubra patent, sic tota Recessus  
Pandit Cyrrha suos, funditq; oracula pragnans  
Anglia, Cambriae & Cortina remugit aulae.  
Nempe novum Aeonidum Proles Montaccola foriem  
Ostendit, sacrasq; aperit Tritonidis arces  
Howelli Generosa Domus, Celeberrimae Gentis  
Hoeliae, Patriiq; decus memorabile fundi.  
Tolle Coronatas Stirps Maridunia cristas,  
Howellumq; Tuum ventura in saecula jactes  
Indigenis peperisse plagis, quâ monstrat Avitos  
Insignis Fortuna lares, seriesq; vetusta  
Sanguinis à longo volventis flumina Rivo;  
Ad Cujus gavisì olim Cristalla sedere  
Grandævi Druides, patulisq; studere sub umbris  
Ornorum Bardi, & nemorum se condere lustris.  
Unde patet, nec vana fides, genus esse Jacobi  
De serie Druidum, suffusaq; pectora dudum  
Enthea primævis spirasse oracula cunis.*

*Ergo*

*Ergo Credulitas Majorum vana facessat,  
Nec sibi Primores cunctos velus arroget ævum;  
Creta Panomphaeum quid progenuisse Tonantem  
Intumet? aut veteres sic altercantur, Homerus  
Quâ fuerat de sede satus? Quid culta superbit  
Scaligero Verona suo? Quid Mantua foelix  
Virgilio præcone tumes? En Cambria nobis  
Mantua, deq; suis Vates educitur oris  
Moeonio nil Vale minor, Cunabula cujus  
Circum, tot Charitum croceis Examina turmis  
Mellifluos fecere favos, ea gratia Scriptis  
Aurea, libratoq; sedet sub carmine nervus,  
Et gravitas fictæ non affectata loquelæ.*

*Scilicet à Teneris docti vestigia Secli  
Usq; sequi Tibi cura fuit; veterumq; labores  
Volvere limatos, avidisq; Heliconida labris  
Exhaustis Vacuare cadis. (a) Harlæus honoris  
Primicias insignis habet, Qui Numine dextro  
Tam Tibi, quam celebri Fratri primordia jecit  
Urbs Quem (b) Bristolæ dudum dignata Tiarâ est  
Præsulis, & sacram vel adhuc reminiscitur umbram.  
O felix Howelle nimis novisse Magistrum  
Harlæum cujus Gens Herefordia stirpem  
Jactet, & ingentem tollat per sæcula famam!  
Illius auspiciis solidis, epheba Juventus  
Pieriis afflata modis, quum nobile Flacci  
Ante oculos saltabat Epos, & Plectra Lucani  
Pharsalico concinna chely. Tum mite Terenti  
Ingenium, & stricto servorum scommata socco,  
Plautinosq; sales potâsti impubibus annis  
Helluo Græcorum Laticum. Mox Sydere verso  
Ipse novum moliris iter, quâ Dulce Lyceum  
Oxonie plenos reserat sitientibus amnes.  
Heic Jesu sacrata Domus Te amplectitur ulnis  
Admissum geminis, & diæ pocula Lucis  
Castalio cum lacte dabat. Sub sensibus haustos  
Tum logicos primum gryphos, artesq; loquendi  
Digeris, & solide formâ methodoq; locatis,  
Venturæ Vigil instauras fundamina Famæ.  
Inde Sophistæo magis inspirata Susurro  
Mens Tua, Te Socium nullo opponente creavit  
Collegi veneranda Cohors. Nec sistitur ingens*

(a) Eruditissimus Dom. Harley Scholæ, Hereford. Archidiaconus.

(b) Frater nostri Jacobi qui Episcop. Bristolensis moriebatur.

*Impetus, humanæ qui supra nubila vitæ  
 Gestit, & aprico foelix feriaturolympo.  
 Ergo Philosophiæ sublimia culmina scandens  
 Occultas reseras sedes, ubi Scrinia mundi  
 Naturæq; Arcana habitant: ubi cernitur omnis  
 Quid Divina velit, vel suaserit Ethnica Virtus.  
 Quicquid Socratico manavit ab ordine; quicquid  
 Clara Cleanthæ præscripsit Turba Lucernæ;  
 Quicquid Erythræis Cynicorum Secta studebat  
 Gymnasiis; quicquid dixit, tacuitq; loquendo  
 Pythagoras Howelle Tuum est, Qui abstrusa latebris  
 Eruis ingenio, Rerumq; oracula pandens,  
 Concipis immensos dilato pectore mundos.*

*Nec Tua Fama Domi, Patriisque morabitur antris,  
 Vecta per extremum nonis Juvenilibus orbem,  
 Et regum consueta Aulis, interq; potentes  
 Europæ Dominos porrectas sumere laurus.  
 Te Juvenem cognovit Iber; Te celsa Philippi  
 Regia Catholici Madriti vidit Agentem  
 Principis Adventu Caroli, stupuitq; loquentem,  
 Tractantemq; diu alterni Molimina Sceptri.  
 Inde Revertentem Borealis Syderis Atlas  
 Ille Comes Præses, Te Sunderlandius imis  
 Secretis admisit amans, & Tanta Scientem,  
 Callentemq; foras, propriis præfecit habenis.*

*Nec Patrio requiescis agro, sed cærulea sulcans (sic)  
 Cymbrica, ad ingentem Danorum stebiliis Aulam  
 Mitteris Orator, Regina busta Sophiæ  
 Exequiasq; dolens, Tua circum Rostra Licestro  
 Legato, & Danum Procerum stipante Corona  
 Quæ Regio in terris nostro non nota Jacobo?  
 Quem pede diffusi penetrantem viscera Regni  
 Teutonides videre sui; Quem Gallia dudum  
 Cum Batavo, & Veneti, & Siculi, & stupuere Pelasgi;  
 Romaq; tot linguas uno sub corde prementem  
 Mirati, Poterantq; levi discrimine, cuncti  
 Indigenam dixisse suum. Tunc Patria dignum  
 Te Palmis censebat ovans, quum ad Tecta Senatus  
 Prisca ciebat amans, & ter successibus æquis  
 Ad sua delecti Te Parlamenta Sedentem.  
 Nec Patriæ cessabat amor, sed honoribus urgens  
 Continuis, credebatur adhuc se parva dedisse  
 Ni meritis majora daret: sic nobilis audis  
 Clericus Augusti Caroli qua jungeris imis  
 Consiliis Tu Scriba cluens, Regniq; labores*

*Multiplices,*

*Multiplices, Aulæq; vices Atlantis ad instar  
Collibras, Patrioq; humeros Supponis Olympo.*

*Hæc pro Te dudum dignissima, Patria fecit,  
Pro Patriâ nec parva facis, faciliæ rependis  
Officio, quæ fecit amor : Communia Testor  
Commoda, & attritis operosa volumina proelis  
Non uno numeranda Die. Te muta movente  
Organa, (c) Vocales fudere oracula Sylvae,  
Et Trunci didicere loqui, Dodonea Quercus,  
Frondisferi Regina chori Tibi Brachia pandens  
Tollit ad astra comas, foliisq; Superbior exit  
A folis famosa tuis, Quibus, Illa fatetur  
Se Tibi debendam, contextaq; Serta dicandam  
Civica, Romuleis nil inferiora Triumphis.*

*Utq; doces Sylvas, & tardo stipite Truncos  
Humanos simulare sonos, sic (d) Bruta Ferarum  
Gutturâ conformans, nostræ Vernacula linguæ  
Distinctasq; doces haurire, & reddere voces.  
Exemplum dabit illud opus sublime, Priori  
Vix dispar, ubi gliscit amor Pietasq; Parenti  
Sceptrifero ; & Fidei Mortales Publica ductim  
De Brutis Documenta bibant, trepidentq; Rebelles  
Excandescentem Britonum irritare Leonem.*

*Nec cessat Tua mira manus, celerive remissas  
Indulges calamo ferias, quia vana perosus  
Otia, victuris lætare laboribus, unam  
Vix perdens sine luce diem, Testabitur orbi  
Grandius Illud Opus (e) Bis Bino Idiomate coctum  
Utile Principibus, Populoq; Orientis et Euri  
Orbis, & à toto divisis orbe Britannis,  
Hæc veluti speculo Criticismata cuncta loquelæ  
Cantabricæ discernit Iber ; Syrene Jacobo  
Ausonios modulante sonos, de finibus exit  
Italus allectus propriis; Gallusq; Garumnam  
Atq; Ararim rapido referens sermone, Britanglos  
Advolat, alternæ miscens commercia linguæ.  
(f) Hisce voluminibus Nomenclatura stupendi  
Subiunctum est Opus ingenii (g) Proverbia Gentis  
A tenebris memoranda trahens, formasq; loquendi*

† (c) Dendrologia.

(d) Therologia.

(e) Opus aliud elucubratiassimum, cui titulus Lexicon Tetraglotton.

(f) Aliud volumen non minoris molis quam emolumentum.

(g) Aliud volumen, Pentaglotton, Proverbiorum.

Priscorum Britonum, *Quorum venerabile semen*  
*Cambria servat adhuc, primosq; à sedibus actos*  
*Commemorabit avos: Tua Cambria clare Jacobe*  
*Cui Superum Ductu Tu post tot secla renascens*  
*Adderis Exemplar, dum sic virtutibus amplis*  
*Instauras Patriam, & virtutes dotibus aequas.*  
*Egregie nasci laus est; sed gloria major*  
*Pro Pratriâ nasci, & primus Chronista creari*  
*Regis ab Historiis. Et quis dubitaverit amens*  
*Te Titulis minus ire Tuis, Oneriveq; lacertos*  
*Impariles, qui tanta manu Monumenta levâsti;*  
*Pressaq; vix binis portanda Volumina Rhedis.*  
*Lector avel majorâ? Domi quod scripseris olim*  
*Contempletur opus, plorandaq; damna (h) Senatus*  
*Praelongi numeret, cunctasq; ab origine causas*  
*Pendeat, & nostri recolat Commenta Jacobi.*  
*Si ulteriora petit? Peregré succinctus ad oras*  
*Longinquas eat, & Te (i) Directore, viarum*  
*Præscius, Europæ varias adremiget urbes,*  
*Conductusq; Tuo formet vestigia Filo.*

*Hoc Filo conductus, aquis scopulisq; sedentem*  
*Europæ Dominam (k) Venetum mirabitur urbem:*  
*Celsaq; Parthenopis (l) Regalia culmina cernet*  
*In Chartis Majora Tuis. Tunc versus ad oras*  
*Austriacas veterum Imperium venerabitur ingens*  
*(m) Teutonidum, & senio certantia vasta Viennæ*  
*Moenia Pannonico toties ditata Tributo.*  
*Inde pedem fessum relegens, per Regna feretur*  
*Gallica, & Hoelios agnoscet ritè labores*  
*Liligeræ Septem tractantes lustra Tiaræ,*  
*Translatiq; Polo (n) Ludovici Busta, Suiq;*  
*Armandi parvo non designata papyro.*

*Sed quid ego gracili calamo, vel carmine curto*  
*Hoelianas vanus comprehendere chartas*  
*Molior, Herculeos quum tot recitare labores*  
*Herculeus labor aliter erit? Testabitur Anglis*  
*Urbs vetus Heroum (o) Trinobantia gloria Civium*

(h) Sobriæ ejus inspectiones in actiones longi Parlamenti.

(i) Directiones peregre proficiscentibus.

(k) Historia ejus Voluminosa Venetum.

(l) Par etiam Neopolitanorum.

(m) Aliud etiam volumen de Imperio Germano.

(n) Aliud exquisitum volumen de vita Ludovici Gallix xiii.

(o) Aliud nobile volumen cui titulus Londinopolis.

*Ingenio ditata Tuo. Testabitur orbi  
Cultius Illud opus quo splendet (p) Epistola crebra  
Fixanimo concinna stylo, quo Faedera belli  
Et passim Momenta Togæ, Faciesq; nitenti  
Cernitur Europæ Speculo, & velamine dempto  
Obvia Summorum pateant, Penetralia Regum.*

*Tantis Posteritas cumulabit honoribus, olim  
Vulgatos Howelle libros. Tantumq; labori  
Debet Gens nostra Novo, stirps aurea Cujus,  
Formaq; Primævas nil postponenda Sorores  
Apello Charites, afflataq; cælitus Æstro  
Pectora, fatidicum fibris spirantia Phœbum.  
A Jove Principium sumens nam Pagina prima  
Sacra Sapit, gratoq; fluunt condita lepore  
Caetera Mellifluos redolentia carmina Flores  
Laurigeroq; novas Tibi contextura corollas.  
Inde per humanæ raptus spectacula scaenæ  
Quam parvas habitura moras Mortalia monstras,  
Indignoque licet depressus Carcere, Mentis  
Remigio super astra volas, Supremaq; versans,  
Discis ab immenso quam discrepat angulus Orbe,  
Et circumfusi quam curta Scientia Mundi  
Æterno collata Deo. Tumet inde Papyrus  
Laudibus Heroum, & Carolum Te Vate salutat,  
Augurioq; pio jamdudum rite potitis  
Induperatoris summos promittit honores  
Quum procul Austriacæ volucres, succumbere Gallo  
Gaudebunt, Gallusq; Anglo parere Leoni.*

*Heic etiam Octavi nitidum sine bile Character  
Pingitur Henrici, Quod latius Acta loquetur  
Et Genium, quam Windsorii monumenta superbi  
Majorum constructa manu (r) Sacvillia Pubes  
Dorsigenis prælustris honos, caput eruet umbris  
Auspiciis Howelle Tuis. His (s) Marchio grandis  
Pierpontiadum Durotrigumq; cacumen  
Tollitur, & Celsæ Katharinae stemmata dudum  
Tremoliâ deducta Domu. Proh celse columna  
Henrice armorum, & sublimibus Artibus: ingens  
Pro Secli Coryphae Tui! Quos Fulguris instar  
Antevolas, patrioq; creas Miracula Mundo.*

(p) Aliud opus usus omnifarii, cui titulus Epistolæ Hoellianæ.

(r) Nobilissimus ille nuper Edoardus Dorcestriae Comes.

(s) Illustrissimus Henricus Marchio Durotrigum; Comes de Kingston, &c.,  
& Katharinae filiae comitis de Derby.

Hunc *Chartis* Howelle sonas, Cui gloria vastis  
*Digna voluminibus, gravidoq; canenda Cothurno ;*  
*Illi dumq; litas laudes, aliisq; sub isto*  
*Codice, diffuso spargis Tua nomina mundo*  
*Lataq; non propriis claudi Praeconia Chartis.*

Sic raptim cecinit,

P. PISCATOR.

### XXXIX.

#### TABLE OF EDITIO PRINCEPS.

(*With additions of 2nd edition in square brackets.*)

These *Letters*, for their principall subject, contain a Relation of those Passages of *State* that happen'd a good part of King *James* His Raig, and of His M<sup>ties</sup> now Regnant: As also of such *Outlandish* Occurrences that had reference to this KINGDOM:

[*Viz. of*

The Wars of *Germany* and the Transactions of the Treaties about restoring the *Palatinat*, with the House of *Austria* and *Sweden*.

The Treaty and Traverfes of the Match with *Spain*.

The Treaty of the Match with *France*.

An exact survey of the *Netherlands*.

Another of *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and of most Countreys in *Europe*, with their chief Cities and Governments.

Of the *Hans* Towns and of the famous quarrel 'twixt Queen Elizabeth and them.

Divers Letters of the Extent of Christianity, and of other Religions upon Earth.

Divers Letters of the Languages up and down the Earth.

Accounts of fundry Embassies from *England* to other States.

Some pieces of Poetry wherewith the Prose goes interwoven.

Divers new opinions in Philofophy defcanted upon.

Passages of former Parlements, and of this present, &c.]

Wherin ther goes along a Legend of the *Authors* life, and of his severall employments, with an account of his Forren *Travells* and *Negotiations*; wherin he had occasion to make his addresse to these Personages, and Persons underwritten.

*Letters*

*Letters to Noblemen.*

*[To His Late Majesty]*  
*To the Duke of Buckingham*  
*[To the Marquess of Hartford]*  
*[To the Marq. of Dorchester]*  
*[To the Erl of Lindsey great Chamberlain of England]*  
*[To the Erl of Southampton]*  
*To the Erl of Cumberland*  
*[To the Erl of Dorset]*  
*To the Erl of Rutland*  
*To the Erl of Leicefter*  
*To the Erl of Sunderland*  
*To the Erl of Bristol*  
*To the Erl Rivers*  
*To the Erl of Strafford*  
*[To the Erl of Clare]*  
*To the Erl of Carberry.*

*To the Lord Vicount Conway, Secr.*  
*To the L. Vicount Savage*  
*To the L. Herbert of Cherberry*  
*To the L. Cottington*  
*To the L. Mohun*  
*To the L. Digby.*

*To the Lady Marchioness of Winchester*  
*To the La. Scroope.*  
*To the Countess of Sunderland*  
*To the La. Cornwallis.*  
*To the La. Digby.*

*To Bishop Usher, Lord Primat of Ireland*  
*To B. Field*  
*To B. Duppa*  
*To the B. of London*  
*[To the B. of Rochester]*  
*To B. Howell.*

*To Knights, Doctors, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Marchants.*

<i>To Sir Robert Manfell</i>	<i>To Sir Peter Wichts</i>
<i>To Sir James Crofts</i>	<i>To Sir Sackvill Trever</i>
<i>To Sir John North</i>	<i>To Sir Sackvill Crow</i>
<i>To Sir Kenelme Digby</i>	<i>To Sir Arthur Ingram</i>

*To*



<i>To Sir Thomas Lake</i>	<i>To Mr. Walsingham Grefley</i>
<i>To Sir Eubule Theloall</i>	<i>To Mr. Thomas Gwyn</i>
<i>To Sir Alexander Ratcliff</i>	[ <i>To Mr. John Wroth</i> ]
<i>To Sir Edward Savage</i>	[ <i>To Mr. William Blois</i> ]
<i>To Sir John Smith</i>	[ <i>To Mr. Howell Gwyn</i> ]
<i>To Sir William Saint-Geon</i>	[ <i>To Mr. Robert Baron</i> ]
<i>To Sir Thomas Savage</i>	[ <i>To Mr. Thomas More</i> ]
<i>To Sir Francis Cottington</i>	<i>To Mr. John Savage</i>
<i>To Sir Robert Napier</i>	<i>To Mr. Hugh Penry</i>
<i>To Sir Philip Manwayring</i>	<i>To Mr. Christopher Jones</i>
<i>To Sir Bevis Theloall.</i>	<i>To Mr. R. Brown</i>
	<i>To Mr. William Martin</i>
<i>To Doctor Mansell</i>	<i>To Cap. Nicholas Leat</i>
<i>To Dr. Howell</i>	[ <i>To Mr. R. Brownrigg</i> ]
<i>To Dr. Prichard</i>	<i>To Mr. John Batty</i>
<i>To Dr. Wicham.</i>	<i>To Mr. William Saint-Geon</i>
[ <i>To Dr. J. Day.</i> ]	<i>To Mr. Philip Warrik</i>
	<i>To Mr. Thomas Hammon</i>
<i>To Master Alderman Clethero</i>	<i>To Mr. James Howard</i>
<i>To Mr. Alderman Moulson</i>	<i>To Mr. Ed. Noy</i>
<i>To the Town of Richmond.</i>	<i>To Mr. William Austin</i>
	<i>To Mr. Rowland Gwyn</i>
<i>To my Father Mr. Tho. Howell</i>	<i>To Mr. William Vaughan</i>
<i>To Mr. R. Altham</i>	<i>To Mr. Arthur Hopton</i>
<i>To Mr. Daniell Caldwell</i>	<i>To Mr. Thomas Jones</i>
<i>To Captain Francis Bacon</i>	<i>To Mistris Caldwell</i>
<i>To Ben Johnfon</i>	<i>To Mistris Frances Metcalf</i>
<i>To Mr. End. and Cap. Thomas</i>	<i>To Mr. J. Price</i>
<i>Porter</i>	<i>To Captain Ol. Saint-Geon,</i>
<i>To Mr. Simon Digby</i>	

*With divers others.*

# XL.

## HOWELL'S ELECTION AT JESUS.

(Minute books, Jesus Coll. Oxon.)

4 April 1623.

*Present.* Eubule Thelwall, *Principal*.  
 Thomas Prichard, *Vice Pr.*  
 Maurice Merick }  
 Robert Lloyd } *fellows*

agreed to proceed to election of eight fellows and ten scholars.

The

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The Statute of the realm having been read, and the Statutes of the College concerning election of fellows and scholars.

Roger Phillips  
Rowland Cheadle  
Roger Prichard  
Thomas Lloyd  
James Howells, Sen.  
James Howells, Jun.  
Hugh Penry  
and Henry Bould,  
were elected fellows.

The Principal then pronounced these elected fellows.

And then, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy having been taken, and the oath of obedience to the College Statutes having been taken,

Roger Phillips  
Rowland Cheadle  
Roger Prichard  
Thomas Lloyd  
James Howells, Junior  
Hugh Penry  
and Henry Bould.

Admitted April 4, 1623.



# NOTES.

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## INTRODUCTION.

IN the following Notes I have mainly attempted to identify persons, check dates, trace sources, and explain allusions. I have not devoted much attention to parallel passages, except those occurring in Howell's own works. I have endeavoured not to explain the obvious, the commentator's chief sin, yet I trust I have dealt with all the difficulties, even if I have had to confess, much against my will, that they are for me insoluble, by placing them among the Queries of p. 808. All this as regards the subject-matter: for rare or curious words I refer the reader to the Index, where, for the most part, short definitions are attached to words likely to cause a halt to the reader. Limits of space have often obliged me to give rather sources where full information can be sought for. These will be generally known in most cases under the somewhat abbreviated form I have given. The Domestic Series of State Papers I quote by *S.P.* and the date, which enables the reader to find the volume easily enough, and is less likely to be misprinted, while conveying useful information in itself. Gard. *per se* refers to the cabinet edition of Prof. Gardiner's *History of England*, in 10 vols., but at times I used the separate sections, and quote these as Gard. *Sp. M.* ("Spanish Match"), &c., or *l. c.* The various Series of *Notes and Queries* are distinguished by a prefixed numeral: thus 5 *N. and Q.* vii. 32, means *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, vol. vii. p. 32. I have ventured to throw in the second series of the Fairfax Papers with the first, and call them *Fairf. Pap.* iii. and iv. The dates which are not authenticated with a reference are for the most part from Woodward and Cates' admirable *Encyclopædia of Chronology*; Details of Peerages from Nicholas' *Historic Peerage*. D.N.B. = *Dictionary of National Biography*. References obtained from the notes of the late Mr. Henry King, now in the possession of Mr. C. H. Firth, or from Mr. Firth himself, are marked with their initials. Anything I have been able to add comes for the most part after the initials. I have checked the Notes with the Index and *vice versa*, but have shrunk from checking the 1001 references to other books.

- P. 1.] TITLE-PAGE, of edition of 1737. For earlier forms see Bibliographical List, Nos. 14, 21, 33, 49.  
*his late Majesty*, Chas. I.
- P. 3.] DEDICATION *To his Majesty*, Chas. I. This was in the ED. PR. of 1645, at a time when it argued some moral boldness for a prisoner in the Fleet to express so openly his Royalist proclivities.  
*Credential Letters*, those given to Ambassadors. Cf. p. 14.
- P. 5.] THE VOTE. This was originally published separately. See Bibl. List, No. 2.  
*Cal. Jan.* 1641, 1 Jan. 1642. In O.S. the year began 25 March.  
*rare Hilliard*, Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619), goldsmith, carver and painter to Q. Elizabeth. It is curious to see him coupled with Michelangelo and Titian. Charles I.'s love of the Fine Arts is well known, and has been effectively utilised by Mr. Shorthouse, *John Inglesant*, p. 49. Cf. Donne's *Storme*, "And a Hand or Eye by Hilliard drawne is worth an history."
- P. 6.] *Moreno*. The Rimmel of Madrid, who is referred to on p. 170 as perfuming pockets and gloves for Capt. Porter.  
*amber*, i.e., ambergis, the original meaning of "amber" as applied to the aromatic product of the whale.
- P. 7.] *The Sophy*, the Shah of Persia. See on p. 338.  
*Vocal Forest*, his "Dendrologia." See Bibl. List, No. 1.  
*Arhetine*. "Her Mat<sup>e</sup> Queen of England." Key to "Dendrologia."  
*Great Henry*, Henry IV., Henrietta Maria's father.  
*Loire, the Po and Rhine*. French, Latin, and Dutch versions of the "Dendrologia." For the first see Bibl. List, Nos. 2, 41; the others were never printed, if they were made, though there were Dutch and Latin versions of H.'s *England's Treasures* (B. L., Nos. 17, 30).
- P. 8.] *Black Prince*, Chas. II., then Prince of Wales. A reference to the Dedicatory poem of the *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, ed. Arber, p. 8., *Cantabrian waves*. St. George's Channel.  
*Scylla and Charybdis*. See pp. 62, 63. *Ætna*, p. 63.  
*Cosmopolitan*. Cf. "a pure Cadet, a true Cosmopolite," p. 373. See also p. 500.  
*huge Inn*. Cf. Epictetus, *Disc.* c. xxiii. *ad fin.*, and Mr. Payn's *Midway Inn*. Cf. *contra* Browne, *Rel. Med.* ii. § 11, "For the world I count it not an Inn but an Hospital."
- . 9] *false glasses*. Telescopes, "opticks," as J. H. calls them, p. 331.  
*Good Hope's Cape*. Cf. "I am one that lyeth at the Cape of Good Hope, though a long time under hatches."—J. H., Pref. to *Parables*.
- P. 10.] *Sanguine*, a reference to the four Temperaments.  
*Luce*, fleur-de-lys.
- P. 11.] *the great Mogor*, the Portuguese form (*o grão Mogor*) of "the grand Mogul." Cf. Camoens x. 66, and Sir R. Burton's translation (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.), cf. p. 13, l. 15.  
*in the North*, the war with Scotland.  
*Frog Vapours*, qy. "fog"; the misprint, if such, is in the original. But the same expression is used in *Lustra Lud.*, p. 20, and probably refers to showers of sleet, called "frog" in Scotch.  
*great year of Plato*. When everything returns again to its original state. *Timæus*, 39. Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.*, ii. 20, and J. Adams' *Plato's Number*, 1891.

**P. 12.]** *To the Knowing Reader.* Prefixed to ED. PR. Also prefixed to Nimmo's Selections from *British Letter-Writers*.

*Mogor.* See note on p. 11.

*Knez*, as in ED. PR. From the Russian *Knyas*, a prince.

*Prestor John*, used here for the King of Abyssinia. See note on a reference to Livy, v. 47.

*twice prevented.* In ED. PR. a side-note gives an off-hand reference to Livy. Dr. Gow suggests that the second occasion may be that referred to, Pliny, N. H. 10, 22, 36, § 81, or Plut. *Camillus*.

**P. 13.]** *fiery Pile.* "Gunpowder Plot" side-note in ED. PR.

*Eagle's Letter.* A letter to Lord Monteaule revealed the plot (*Gard.*, i. 248).

*Antonine.* Howell seems to split up M. Aurelius Antoninus into two personages. No letters of any other Antonine are known.

**P. 14.]** *Aurelius by his Letters.* He means the *Libro Aureo* of Guevara, which are written in letter form and under the name of Marcus Aurelius. Guevara's book was often translated into English, and is said to have given rise to Euphuism. See my edition of North's *Bidpai*.

*Administers in some:* this should read "administers. In sum," as in ED. PR.

## BOOK I.

This includes all the letters contained in the *editio princeps* of 1645, with the addition of the letter prefixed to the first section, which was first inserted in the second edition of 1650. *The dates were added in the second edition.*

THE FIRST SECTION contains 44 letters ranging from the beginning of 1619 to the end of 1621 (with the prefatory letter dated 1625), and gives an account of Howell's first travels abroad to the Low Countries (v.-xii.), France (xiii.-xxi.), Spain (xxii.-xxv.), Italy (xxvi.-xlii.), and France again (xliii., xlii.).

**P. 17.]** LETTER I.—This letter was added in the second edition. It is quoted in Scoones' *English Letters*, No. lv. p. 71, also in Nimmo's *British Letter-Writers*, p. 23.

*To Sir J. S.* Probably the Sir John Smith of I. ii. 13. p. 113. Other letters to Sir J. S., Kt., occur in I. iv. 19. p. 234, and I. v. 13. p. 264. In the last place Sir J. S. is spoken of as living near Harwich in 1628. There were two John Smiths knighted in the reign of James I., one of Kent, knighted 11 May 1603 (Metcalf, *A Book of Knights*, p. 140), and one of Essex, knighted in 1605 (*ib.*, p. 156). The former is our John Smith, as we know from the reference to Leeds Castle, co. Kent, of which an elaborate description has been given by C. W. Martin, *History of Leeds Castle*, 1869. Cf. p. 156. Sir John died 1632. Cf. Nicholl's *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 252 n.; Hasted, *Kent*, ii. 73, and Herbert, *Autob.* 78 n.

*The ancients.* Dr. Gow compares Cic. *Epp. ad Fam.*, ix. 21, 1.

*Hungerlin*, a short fur coat introduced from Hungary, whence the name.

**P. 18.]** *Narratory, Objurgatory.* These adjectives show that Howell had in mind Day's *Complete Letter-Writer*, the Table of Contents of which is filled with adjectives in -ory. I have reprinted the Table in my edition of Day's *Daphnis and Chloe*, p. xxviii.

*Bartholomew ware*, cheap and nasty, like things sold at Bartholomew Fair.

*Echo,*

*Echo*, a reference to *Vox et præterea nihil*, though the Greek original refers to the nightingale.

*Balzac*, Jean Louis Guez de Balzac (1594–1655). His *Lettres*, almost the first of their kind, written for the writing's sake (Saintsbury, *Short Hist. Fr. Lit.*, p. 354), appeared for the first time in 1624, the year before the date of this letter. They were translated into English by Sir R. Baker, 1655, and a passage is quoted in the *Spectator*, No. 355.

P. 19.] *Urinals*. On this practice of physicians or "waterlogers" see a curious note of Rimbault in his edition of Sir T. Overbury's *Works*, p. 302. Cf. *Shakespeare's Fest Book*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 14–16.

LETTER II.—This was the opening letter of the first edition. Consequently all the letters of the first section in the remaining editions differ by one in the numeration.

*To my Father*. Thomas Howell, curate of Cefn-bryn, co. Brecon, 1576–83 (Th. Jones, *History of Brecknockshire*, ii. 279), minister of Abernant, in Caermarthenshire (Ath. Ox. iii. 744). He died in 1632, as we know from I. vi. 7. p. 306.

*choice methodical school*. Hereford Free School. I. i. 31. p. 71.

*learned (tho' lashing) master*, named Harley, as we learn from the Latin verses prefixed to Howell's *Poems*. See Suppt. II. p. 689.

*to Oxford to be graduated*. J. H. matriculated at Jesus, 16 June 1610, ætat. 16, and took his B.A. Dec. 17, 1613, ætat. 20. See Intro., p. xxvi.

*Sir Robert Mansell*, Treasurer of the Navy (*Gard.*, ii. 187), and uncle to Dr. F. Mansell, the Principal of J. H.'s college, Jesus, who probably recommended him to the Admiral. On him, see note on I. i. 28.

*Lord of Pembroke*. William Herbert, third Earl (1580–1630), the W. H., "onlie begetter" of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. He was Chancellor of Oxford University in 1619, the year in which this letter purports to be written.

*Patent of making Glass with Pit-coal*. References to this Patent, held by Sir R. Mansell, *S.P.*, 2 Feb. 1611, 17 Nov. 1613, 12 Oct. 1614, 23 May 1615 (proclamation prohibiting all glass-making unless with coal), 1 June 1615, 4 May 1618, 10 Dec. 1618 (Sir R. Mansell has acquired *sole rights*).

P. 20.] *Workmen from Italy*, Venetians, some of whom are mentioned pp. 56, 65. Another, Vescellini, is named in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12, 496.

*Chief materials*, baryllia, from Spain. See I. i. 65. p. 60.

*Glass house in Broad St.* Cf. G. T. Clark, *Caermarthen Worthies*, p. 18, also Stow-Strype, iii. 112, and a paper in *Journ. Arch. Instit.*, dealing with remains of the glass found a few years ago. Pinners Hall stood on the site.

*Captain Francis Bacon*. He is mentioned as acting for Sir R. Mansell in his absence, *S.P.*, 10 Jan. 1619.

*Sir George Villiers*. James I.'s celebrated favourite, frequently mentioned in these letters. He was created Viscount Villiers and Baron Whaddon, 27 Aug. 1616, so that this passage could not have been written in 1619.

*The Earl of Somerset*, Robert Carr (c. 1585–1645), also a favourite of James I.: through his intrigue with the Countess of Essex, he became implicated in the poisoning of Overbury, and found guilty of murder, 25 May 1616. He was respited, but kept in the Tower till 1622, and not definitely pardoned till 1625 (ch. xx. of Mr. Gardiner's *History* deals with "The Fall of Somerset"). What the *Lease of 90 years for his Life* refers to, I have been unable to ascertain.

*his Articulate Lady*, Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Essex (b. 1593), became enamoured of Somerset, and procured a divorce from the Earl of Essex in 1613, on grounds of special impotence (ch. xvi. of Mr. Gardiner's *History*).

*History* deals with "The Essex Divorce"). She plotted the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, was tried and found guilty of it in 1616, and pardoned July 13, 1616 (*Gard.*, vi. 361).

*Coke, the Lord Chief-Justice.* Edward Coke (1552-1633) conducted the Overbury case, but was discharged from the office of Lord Chief-Justice, 15 Nov. 1616.

*poisoning of Overbury.* Sir Thomas Overbury (1581-16 Sept. 1613), as a friend of Somerset, dissuaded him from marrying the Countess of Essex, and thus earned her hatred. She caused him to be poisoned in the Tower. The murder became known three years later, and the minor criminals executed. The trial is fully described in the interesting volume of A. Amos, *The Great Oyer of Poisoning*, 1846, and more briefly in E. F. Rimbault's Introduction to *The Works of Sir Thomas Overbury*, 1856.

*the Prerogative kept them from the Pot.* James pardoned the Countess almost at once, July 13, 1616, and respited Somerset about the same time.

*Mistress Turner, Anne Turner*, "a doctor of physica's widow, whom prodigality and looseness had brought low." She was the chief instrument in procuring the poison.

*the first inventress of yellow starch.* Coke, in passing judgment, referred to this, and ordered that she should wear a yellow-starched ruff at her execution, as did the hangman also. Rimbault, *l.c.* p. xxxvii. Thackeray is fond of referring to the fact, which he doubtless got from his favourite Howell.

P. 21.] *Sir Gervas Elhwys, Lieut. of the Tower.* Sir Jervis Elwes, Sir Gervas Elwes, Sir Jervis Yelvis, Sir Gervase Helwys (the name is written in all these ways, the latter is the form used by Mr. Gardiner, ii. 179 *seq.*), had been appointed to supersede Sir William Wood, for the very purpose of assisting in the murder.

*Lord (William) of Pembroke*, vide *supra*, on p. 19.

*Broad Street, London*, 1 March 1618. The Ed. PR. has no date: this was inserted in the second edition. From the following letters, it is clear that O.S. is used, and that the year was 1619. This makes the disparity between the date of the letter and of the events mentioned still more striking. Howell's father was dead at the time of publication, and he may therefore have come into possession of his own letters to him, but the paragraph beginning "Touching the News of the Time" must have been interpolated, even if the whole letter is not a fabrication.

LETTER III.—*Dr. Francis Mansell*, third son of Sir F. Mansell of Muddlescomb, co. Caermarthen, Howell's county, so that they probably knew one another "at home." Mansell was three times Principal of Jesus, 1620-1, 1630-48, 1660-65, dying in the last-mentioned year, ætat. 80. Anthony à Wood, *Hist. Coll. Oxon.*, pp. 577-9, p. 585 (epitaph). He was still Principal when this letter was published with his name. A privately printed Life was published by L. Jenkyns, 1859 (C.H.F.).

P. 22.] *Glass house, Venetians.* See notes in I. i. 2, p. 20.

*School-language*, language of the "Schools," Latin, in which language alone the disputations could be held by which degrees could be obtained. C. Wordsworth, *Scholæ Academica*, c. ii.

*Gravesend*, then, as now, the port for embarking on voyages to Holland or Germany. Cf. p. 101, and W. B. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners*, n. 7. *warrant to travel.* A similar warrant to travel for three years provided he does not go to Rome is given to T. Westrop. Harl. MS. 286, f. 290. Cf. Mayor's *Lives of Ferrar*, p. 191-2.

Rome,



*Rome.* Notwithstanding this, we find J. H. at Rome, pp. 81–5. The object of the prohibition was to prevent conversion to Roman Catholicism.

*St. Omers*, where there was a Jesuit college much frequented by Roman Catholic lads and frequented by youthful converts. *Cf.* p. 326, and Mullinger, *Univ. Cam.*, ii. p. 261.

*London, 20 March 1618.* The ED. PR. has a truncated date, "*London this*," which seems to vouch for the authenticity of the present letter.

LETTER IV.—*Sir James Crofts, Kt.*, generally spelt Croft, grandson of the elder Sir James Croft, Controller of Queen Elizabeth's household, of whom an interesting account in *Retrospect. Rev.*, 2nd ser., pp. 469–98. The Sir James here mentioned was a pensioner or member of Queen Elizabeth's bodyguard (*Herb. Cherb. Autob.*, p. 82, and Mr. Lee's note), and died in London, 9 Aug. 1649. *Ret. Rev.*, i. p. 495.

*St. Osyth*, now spelt St. Osyth, co. Essex, at the mouth of R. Colne. J. H. spent some time there afterwards (p. 109). Earl Rivers had a seat there.

V  
P. 23.] *return of Sir Walter Raleigh from his Mine of Gold in Guiana.* Mr. Gardiner devotes ch. xxv. of his history to "*Raleigh's Last Voyage*." From this it appears that Raleigh's ship, the "*Destiny*," did not cast anchor in Plymouth Sound till the first week of June (*Gard.*, iii. 131), three months before the alleged date of this letter. Mr. Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, i. 649, gives the date 21 June 1618.

*thirteen ships more.* They are enumerated in E. Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, i. 599.

*Count Gondomar* (1567–1626), the well-known Spanish ambassador at James I.'s Court. See genealogy and characterisation of him in Edwards, *l. c.* i. 569 *seq.* He is the Black Knight of Middleton's *Game of Chesse*. There is a good portrait of him in Mr. Lee's *Lord Herbert of Cherbury*.

*Pirates, Pirates, Pirates.* Mr. Edwards gives the story (i. 646) as "one of the best known of our Court anecdotes:" he quotes Gondomar's exclamation in Spanish, "*Piratas, Piratas, Piratas*." Mr. Gardiner does the same (iii. 131), though he declares that there is no other authority for the story than Howell, who gives the words in English ("*Pyrats, Pyrats, Pyrats*," ED. PR. sect. i. p. 6). It is, however, given in the Spanish form in H.'s treatise on Ambassadors (*Bibl. List*, No. 68). Also, Mr. Firth reminds me, in Finetti's *Remains*, edited by H. (B. L. 50).

*till he hath his head off his shoulders*; this sounds like a *vaticinium post eventum*.

P. 24.] *Santo Thoma*, San Thomé at the mouth of the Orinoco. Between Raleigh's visits the town was moved to the east, near the spot where he expected to find the gold-mine (see map in *Gard.*, iii. 44, and *ib.* p. 121). Capt. Keymis and young Walter Raleigh attacked and burnt it.

*Plate Galeons*, the Spanish ships which brought the yearly tribute of gold from America to Spain.

*Captain Kemish*, a misprint (in ED. PR.) of Capt. Keymis, the second in command in Raleigh's expedition, who was the only man who had seen the mine. He led the attack on San Thomé, and on his return to Sir W. Raleigh, after the death of young Raleigh, was received badly by him, and committed suicide.

*Convertine.* H. was himself a passenger in this ship. See *infra*, pp. 651, 677, 678.

*Alphonso, King of Naples.* This well-known story has been told of many kings, e.g., Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI. in *Quentin Durward*, of Francis I. and Chas. V. in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, § 200, ed. Spedding. It is probable that Scott got the idea from Howell, who may have got it from Melchior, *Floresta Española*, I. iii. 1.

P. 25.] *London, 28 March 1618.* The date is obviously incorrect, even if the letter

letter is authentic; the year even in O.S. would be 1619. For a defence of the statements in this letter see II. 62. p. 479 *seq.* H. there states that his relation is founded on a proclamation of King James which is printed in the Harl. Misc. vol. iii., see on p. 479. This fixes the inauthenticity of the present letter, especially as H. could not have been in London in 1618.

**LETTER V.**—*To my Brother*, Thomas Howell (1588–1646), eldest brother of our Howell, entered Jesus 1604 (*Ath. Ox.* 804), took his B.A. 20 Feb. 1609, same day as Fr. Mansell (Clark's *Registers Univ. Oxf.* ii. 285), and proceeded D.D. 1630, became Rector of West Horsley, co. Surrey, and of St. Stephen's, Walbrook (*Ath. Ox. l. c.*), installed Canon of Windsor 26 Nov. 1636 (*Le Neve*, iii. 401), enthroned Bishop of Bristol 12 April 1645, died next year, and was buried in the Cathedral (*Le Neve*, i. 216). His letter about his brother James, given in Suppt. I. p. 655, will sufficiently indicate his time-serving character. His sermons, "like the waters of Siloah, did run softly gliding on," says Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 575.

**P. 26.]** *Copernicus his Opinion*. Copernicus' great book, *De revolutionibus orbium caelestium*, appeared in the month of his death, May 1543, but did not win universal acceptance for over a century. Bacon, as is well known, refused to accept the theory (*cf.* Fowler's edition of the *Novum Organum*, Introd., pp. 30–36), and Milton in his *Paradise Lost* retained the Ptolemaic system as more suitable for poetic purpose (Masson in *Milton's Poetical Works*, lib. ed., i. 89–97).

*Philosophical Problem.* *Cf.* De Morgan, "Old Arguments against the Motion of the Earth." *Comp. Brit. Alm.* for 1836, and *infra*, i. p. 528 *seq.*

*Dike-Grave.* Dutch, *Dijkgraaf*, superintendant of the Dikes.

*Duke of Alva* (1508–83), the governor of the Netherlands who brought about their independence.

**P. 27.]** *till I come to the Hague*. This promised letter was either not sent or is not included. In either case this is a natural touch which vouches for the authenticity of the present letter.

*Captain Bacon*, referred to in I. i. 2, p. 20.

1 April 1617. This is clearly a mistake (of the original) for 1619.

**LETTER VI.**—*Dan. Caldwell*, elsewhere spelt Caldwell, was son of Lawrence Caldwell of Battersea, and held manors at Shreves and Wythefeld, co. Essex. He died 13 Nov. 1634. See Morant, *Essex*, i. 220, ii. 219.

*in Oxford*. I have been unable to find Caldwell's college either in Anthony à Wood or the *Registers* recently issued by the Oxf. Hist. Society.

*was I matriculated.* See Introd. p. xxvi.

*in the Temple.* Caldwell was a member of the Middle Temple (Morant, *Essex*, ii. 219).

**P. 28.]** *Letters have a strong operation.* *Cf.* with this passage Howell's *Instructions for Forraine Travell* (ed. Arber, p. 28). "Letters which by a Spirituall kind of power do enamour and mingle Soules more sweetly than any embraces." *Cf.* Donne to Wotton, "Sir, more than kisses, Letters mingle souls."

*embraces.* *Cf.* passage just quoted from *For. Trav.*

*Tom Bowyer* of St. John's, Oxon., took his degree 17 March 1613, and his M.A. in 1616, having spent the intermediate time in foreign Universities. Clark, *Registers*, iii. 319.

*Jack Toldervy.* He is probably the Jack T. referred to in similar terms p. 275. *Fleece in Cornhill.* "Capt. Cuttle and Curtis and Mootham and I, went to the

the Fleece Tavern to drink," Pepys, 8 Feb. 1661. Cf. L'Estrange, *Visions of Quevedo*, p. 137 (H. K.). But these quotations (from Cunningham) refer probably to the Fleece in Covent Garden. H. refers to the Fleece in Cornhill (Wheatley-Cunningham ii. 51).

P. 29.] LETTER VII.—*English Brownists church*. The sect of Brownists or Separatists was founded by Robert Brown (1550–1630), who resided for some time in Holland (cf. Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 538–42), cf. Mayor, *Lives of Ferrar*, p. 182, for his similar experiences at Amsterdam.

*Synagogue of Jews*. The *Bet Jacob* (House of Jacob) in Amsterdam, the first public synagogue allowed in North Europe for centuries. Cf. De Castro, *de Synagoge der portug. israel. Gemeente te Amsterdam*, 1875. Cf. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, ix. 593–5. Evelyn visited it 19th Aug. 1641.

*Jew of the Tribe of Aaron*. This must be a mistake: the Jews with whom Broughton had a dispute were R. Elias, R. Abraham Rauben, and R. David Ferrar, none of them a Cohen or descendant of Aaron. The chief Cohen in Amsterdam at the time was Jacob Cohen Lobats (Graetz, *l.c.* x. p. 5).

Broughton, Hugh (1549–1612), one of the greatest Hebrew scholars of his day. See full and interesting biography in D.N.B.

*Bills of Mortality* commenced in London 1592, and were issued regularly from 1603. The weekly deaths would fix the population at 60,000 for Amsterdam, 300,000 for London. Howell, however, calculates the population of London and suburbs at 1,500,000 (*Londinopolis*, p. 403, where there is a similar comparison between London and Amsterdam).

*Excises*, should be *Accises*, as in ED. PR. J. H. refers to this later, p. 486.

P. 31.] LETTER VIII.—*Dr. Tho. Prichard*, matriculated 19 June 1610, ætat. 19 (Clark, *Reg.*, 317), Vice-Principal of Jesus 1621 (Wood, *Hist.* 574), was tutor at Worcester House (*infra* 131), and died while J. H. was in the Fleet (p. 438) some time between 1645–9.

*Leyden University*, founded 1575, was a frequent resort of English students, Sir Thomas Browne, *e.g.*, taking his medical degree there. The Index Society has published a list of them.

*Franker University* was founded 1585, and suspended by Napoleon, 1811.

*Nations*. The students were classified by nationality, a custom borrowed from Paris. Cf. Mullinger, *Univ. Camb.* i. 78–9.

P. 32.] *New Inn to Christ's Church*, the smallest to the greatest Oxford College.

*Alms-houses on Tower-hill*, built 1593 by the Merchant Taylors (Stow's *Survey* ed. Thoms, 48).

*Sutton's Hospital*, the Charterhouse endorsed by Thomas Sutton, 1613. Cf.

*Gard.* ii. 14. Sutton is said to have been the original of Jonson's Volpone. *Oppidanæ*, lived in lodgings and not in college as on the English system. The Eton boys are still called Oppidans.

*Habits*, cap and gown. Cf. Wordsworth, *Univ. Life*, 454–67, and *infra*, p. 71. *Cicero*. Probably, says Dr. Gow, a bad reminiscence of *De Fato*, iv. (7), where the contrary is expressly stated.

*Heinsius* (1580–1655), classical scholar, secretary of the Synod of Dort.

*Grotius*, Hugo (1583–1645), the founder of International Law. Just at this time he was imprisoned (May 1619–Mar. 1621).

*Arminius*, Jacob Hermannsen (1560–1609). His name would be just then prominent owing to his views being condemned at the Synod of Dort which closed 29 May 1619. This anecdote is quoted (doubtless from H.) by Forde, *Apoph.* 88.

*Baudius*,

*Baudius*, Dominic, of Leyden (1561–1613), historiographer and Latin poet.

*Cf. infra.*

*Crassos transire Dies.* Persius, v. 60.

P. 33.] LETTER IX.—*Mr. Richard Altham*, second son of Sir James Altham, Baron of the Exchequer, and half-brother of the Sir James mentioned pp. 34, 182. Howell went abroad with him, p. 112. On his family, many of whom are mentioned in the *Letters*, see Morant's *Essex*, i. 24, ii. 60, and *Visit. of Essex* (Harl. Soc.), i. 539. A short genealogy, *infra*, on p. 353. Altham died 1623: an affecting reference to his death, I. vi. 45.

*Gray's Inn.* Altham entered the Inn 2 Feb. 1615 (J. Foster, *Register of Admissions*, p. 9).

*Plowden*, Edmund (1517–84), whose *Commentaries*, 1571, contained "leading cases."

*Jack Chaundler.* Referred to Worthington, *Diary*, 364.

*Littleton on Tenures*, Eng. edition, 1539. The celebrated commentary of Coke on Littleton did not appear till 1628. D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 178, 181, made use of the French edition.

*Baron your Father.* Sir James Altham, Baron of the Exchequer, 1607, had recently died, 21 Feb. 1617 (Foss., *Biog. of Eng. Judges*, vi. p. 50).

P. 34.] *Sophisters*, name given to second year men at the Universities. *Cf.* P. Fisher's poem *infra*, p. 689, three lines from bottom.

LETTER X.—*Sir James Crofts.* See *supra* on I. i. 4, p. 22. The reference to grey hairs at the end of the letter would indicate that it is the earlier Sir James who is addressed.

*Prince Maurice* (1567–1625) became Stadholder of the United Provinces on death of his father, 1584; Prince of Orange on death of his brother, 1618. His death is referred to p. 228.

P. 35.] *ride the great Horse*, as at tournaments or in warfare. On this see Herbert of Cherbury's *Autob.*, p. 68, and Mr. Lee's elaborate note.

*dines about twelve.* Dinner beginning at eleven is mentioned p. 295.

*Bohemians.* *Gard.* c. xxix. deals with "The Bohemian Revolution."

*elected King the Emperor*, Ferdinand II, King of Hungary, elected Emperor 28 Aug. 1619.

*Ortelius* (1527–98), the standard geographer of the time. He is mentioned again, *Fov. Tr.* 21. His *Letters* have been published by Mr. Hessels *Epistola Orteliana* (Cantabrig, 1887).

3 June 1619. The reference to the elected Emperor shows that this letter is at least antedated, even if the paragraph beginning "There are great stirs" is not an interpolation.

P. 36.] LETTER XI.—*Captain Francis Bacon.* *Cf. supra*, note on I. i. 2. p. 20. *Glass-House in Broad-street*, where Howell had himself been (*supra*, p. 20).

*Middleburgh*, the English staple had probably been removed in 1614, in connection with the scheme of Alderman Cockain (*Gard.* ii. 386).

*departure of the English Garrison* from the cautionary towns (*ib.* 382–4).

*cautionary towns.* For a further account see *infra*, p. 119.

*Sir Ralph Winwood* (1564–1617), one of the most important diplomatists of the time.

*Lord Caroon*, Caron, the Dutch ambassador at St. James's (*Gard.* ii. 382).

*Earl of Suffolk*, Thomas Howard (1553–1626), Lord High Treasurer, 1614–18.

P. 37.] *Lady Elisabeth*, James I.'s daughter, married to the "Palsgrave" (Elector Palatine) 14 Feb. 1613.  
*Sig. Antonio Miotti*, referred to again p. 65.  
*Sir Robert Mansell*, see I. i. 28, p. 65.

LETTER XII.—*Sir James Crofts*. Cf. notes on I. i, 4, p. 22.

P. 38.] *Citadel*. "To see the *Citadel of Antwerp*" is reckoned one of the advantages of travel in Howell's *Instructions*, p. 71.  
*Tumults in Bohemia*, see *supra*, p. 35.  
*Great Council at Prague*. This refers to what is known as the defrenestation, 1618, in which Martiniz and Slawata were hurled from the window. *Gard.* iii. 270 (C.H.F.).  
*Sir James Altham*, Richard's half-brother. His death referred to, 182.  
*Bishopsgate-street*. The home of the Althams was "The Abbot of Waltham's House" in the parish of St. Mary at Hill, Billingsgate Ward. See on this an elaborate paper by C. R. Corner, *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 400-17.  
5 July 1619. Clearly postdated, if the letter is authentic, but it would be natural for H. to be better informed on such subjects if he was writing from abroad.

LETTER XIII.—*Dr. Tho. Prichard*. See on I. i. 8, p. 31.  
*infirma species* (should be "infima species" as in ED. PR.), a logical term indicating the smallest class to which an object belongs.  
*Predicament*, the arrangement of classes in order of extension.

P. 39.] *Fresh-man*, the University term for an undergraduate in his first year. This is an early use of the word.  
*Queen-Mother (late Regent)*, Maria de Medici, married to Henry IV. 10 Dec. 1600, and Regent of France, 14 May 1610 to 2 Oct. 1614.  
*Marquis of Ancres*. See fuller accounts on I. i. 19, p. 51.  
*Sir Eubule Theloall* or Thelwall. See on II. 6.  
*Jesus College new Walls*, probably the Hall which was built "about the year 1617" (Anthony à Wood, *Hist. Coll. Ox.* p. 580).  
*my Countryman Owen*. John Owen († 1622) of Carnarvonshire, author of some *Epigrammata* which ran through six editions, 1607-33, and were reprinted in Paris as late as 1794.  
*Anagram*. J. H. was fond of this learned trifling. See Index s.v.

LETTER XIV.—*Dan. Caldwell*. See on I. i.

P. 40.] *Kid-skin gloves*, usual as presents to patrons. Thorold Rogers, *Prices*, v. 716-9. Cf. the custom of presenting gloves to judges.  
*Royal Exchange*, built by Gresham after that of Antwerp. Vide *infra*, p. 122.  
*white worsted stockings*, I vastly suspect—however, this is a natural touch which vouches for the authenticity of this letter.  
*Vacandary*, doubtless the "Nicholas Vacondary born in France," mentioned as living in Aldgate Ward, on 7 Sept. 1618, in *Lists of Foreign Protestants* (Camd. Soc. 1862, p. 62).  
*our Brother Sergeant*. There is no Caldwell among the list of Serjeants in Pulling's *Order of the Coif*, 1884, or in Foss' list for Jas. I., vi. 29.  
*Battersay*, where Caldwell's father lived. Morant, *Essex*, i. 220.

LETTER XV.—*To my Father*. See on I. i. 2.

P. 41.] *the great Church*, the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Evelyn gives a similar account under date 18 Jan. 1644.

*greatest*

*greatest Bell of Christendom*, called Georges d'Amboise after the Cardinal of that name ; it was melted down at the Revolution.

*St. Oen*, Church of St. Ouen, finer even than the Cathedral.

*Wardships*, qq. wardmotes, courts held in each ward of a city?

P. 42.] *Sequena*, misprint for "Sequana" as in ED. PR.

*My last to you*. This is a natural touch which seems to vouch for the authenticity of this letter. The reference would be to the letter from Amsterdam, I. i. 7, *supra*, p. 28.

*Sir Robert Mansel*. See on I. i. 28.

*Law-businesses*, a further reference to this, *infra*, p. 105.

LETTER XVI.—*To Capt. Francis Bacon*. Mentioned previously. See on p. 20.

P. 43.] *slain by Ravillac*. See on p. 47.

*Town and City* are distinguished by the fact that the latter is the seat of a Bishopric. But as applied to Paris, a difference of locality is meant. Cf. Evelyn, 24 Dec. 1643. "The City is divided into 3 parts whereof the Towne is greatest. The City lyes between it and the University, in form of an island." Cf. F. Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 157.

*Crot of Paris*. Cf. *Forreine Travell*, "the hudge and durty." *Germ. Diet*, 63. *great Philosopher*. I have not been able to trace this.

*vagina popuorum*. Mr. Bradley has referred me to Jordanes (Jornandes) where I find (*Getica*, ed. Mommsen, iv. 25,) "Scandza insula quasi officina gentium velut vagina nationum."

P. 44.] *Louvre*, the present building was begun 1539.

*Italian Mile*, either the modern Roman mile of 1628 yds. or the Tuscan of 1808. Moryson, *l.c.* i. 294, gives the various European miles.

*where the English resort*. In his *Forreine Travell* J. H. recommends keeping away from English abroad for the same reason. He advises instead, devotions to a *Divota* or Nun. Perhaps he was thinking of the heroine of the worsted stockings, *supra*, p. 40.

LETTER XVII.—*Richard Altham*. See on I. i.

P. 45.] *Filous*, rogues. A word used by Butler, and cf. *Nicholas Papers*, 75. *Chevalier du Guet*, mentioned later on, p. 98, but in a passage derived from a work of fiction where the names are expressly said to be fictitious.

*Jack White*. The reader may select from the J. Whites given in Evelyn, 211 (Chandos ed.); Edwards, *Raleigh*, i. 60; Forster, *Elliot*, ii. 475, and P. Warwick, *Memoirs*, 255.

*Pont Neuf*, described, together with the statue, by Evelyn, 24 Dec. 1643.

*Henry the Great*, the work of John of Bologna.

*Florentine Horse*. The materials were sent by Cosmo II. from Florence.

*beat the Hoof*. Cf. the slang expression "pad the hoof."

P. 46.] *Plush Cloak*. Perhaps a cloak lined with plush as that mentioned by Pepys, Oct. 28, 1664.

*Luynes*, Charles d'Albert, Duc de Luynes (1578–1621), Captain of the Louvre 1616, Peer of France 1619.

*Vacandary*. See *supra* on p. 40.

LETTER XVIII.—*To Sir James Crofts*. See on I. i. 4, p. 22.

P. 47.] *Sir Herbert Crofts* or Croft († 1622), a grandson of Sir James Croft, the Controller of Q. Elizabeth's household. He was converted to Roman Catholicism

Catholicism in 1617 (Mr. Lee's note on Herbert of Cherbury, 135). He died at Douay, 1622 (D.N.B.).

*The King of France with forty thousand men.* Halliwell in his *Nursery Rhymes and Tales*, p. 3, adopts this statement of Howell's. It is, however, called "Old Tarlton's Song," which would place its composition before 1588, long before the death of Henry IV. in 1610.

*Ravillac, a Lay-Jesuit.* This well-known event occurred as told here on 14 May 1610.

P. 48.] *Henry II.* was wounded by Count de Montgommeri at a tournament at Paris 29 June 1559, and died on the 10 July following.

*Henry III.*, assassinated by Jacques Clément, 1589.

P. 49.] *Duke of Bouillon*, Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne (1555-1623). He was well known in England, where he had been as Ambassador. He is the "Fox of Ardennes" in H.'s *Dodona's Grove*.

*Cardinal of Perron*, Jacques Davy Duperron (1556-1618).

P. 50.] *Count of Soissons*, Charles de Bourbon (1556-1612); the same story is told *infra* p. 564.

LETTER XIX.—*To my Brother.* See on I. i. 5, p. 25.

P. 51.] *Signior Conchino*, Concino Concini, created Marquis d'Ancre 1613, assassinated 24 April 1617. The story is also told in Howell's *Lustra Ludovici*, 37-9; *Germ. Diet*, 63.

*Prince of Condé*, Henri II. de Bourbon (1588-1646) was imprisoned in the Bastille 1 Sept. 1616, and not liberated till 20 Oct. 1619.

P. 52.] *retire to Blois*, 3 May 1617.

*His Wife*, Leonora Galegai, was executed 8 July 1617.

*Picture in Virgin-wax*, it was supposed that by witchcraft wounds inflicted on an image could be transferred by sympathy to the person they represent.

8 Sept. 1620. The murder of Concini is spoken of as more recent than three years. For reasons for antedating Howell's residence, see *Introd.* p. xxviii.

P. 53.] LETTER XX.—*To my Cousin, W. Vaughan*, of the "Vaughans of Cors y Gedol," of whom an elaborate account in 4 *Arch. Camb.* vi. pp. 1-16, where Howell's cousin is mentioned pp. 11, 12. They were connected with the Bacons and the Gages, *ib.* 273. He took his degree in 1609, Clark (*Reg.* iii.). H.'s Cousinship consisted in having a sister married to a cousin of Vaughan's. See Pedigree.

*Lower Britons speak no language but our Welsh.* It was colonised by emigrants from Britain in the fourth century.

*Armorica.* Howell's suggestion is that this has the same root as Morgan, and he is so far justified by Littré, who derives Armorica from *ar* on and *mor* (*cf. mare*) sea, but see next note.

*Pelagius*, said to be a Latinisation (?) of Morgan, which is said by a folk-etymology to mean "marine."

P. 54.] *Hoell the Great*, Hywel Dda († c. 950), whose laws were the first code compiled for the Welsh. The Howells claimed descent from him, according to James, *infra*, but without justification. See the Pedigree.

LETTER XXI.—*Sir John North, Kt.* of the Bath, 3 Nov. 1616 (*Metcalf*, p. 168). He was appointed Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber. He brought the news of the failure of Raleigh's expedition (*Nichol's Progresses of*

of *Jas. I.*, iii. 483). He was younger son of the eldest son of Roger Lord North of Guildford (Nichols, *ib.*, 222 n.).

P. 55.] LETTER XXII.—*Mr. Tho. Porter*, brother of Endymion Porter. He died Dec. 1655, and was buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn (Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* ii. 218). He seems to have been in the navy.

*I met here*, in imagination, it would seem, as Porter is included among the friends in England.

P. 56.] *Duke of Ossuna*. See on I. iii. 37, p. 208. The same anecdote is told in *Parthen*, 31, and is perhaps derived from *Don Quixote* (C.H.F.). *Camillo, Mazalao*. Italian workmen at the Glass House in Broad Street. The latter is mentioned p. 65.

*with you*. From this it would seem that Porter had some connection with the Glass House.

*Ship behind Exchange*. Also mentioned on p. 75. Pepys was merry there till late at night on Sept. 6, 1661.

P. 57.] LETTER XXIII.—*Sir Jas. Crofts*. See on p. 22.

*Barcelona*. Cf. Defoe's account in *Capt. Carleton*, c. iii. *ad fin.*

*Bandoleros*, the Spanish equivalent of Banditti.

*Montserrat*, said to be so called from its shape, *Mons Serratus*: it is full of hermitages. Cf. Ford's elaborate and florid account in the *Handbook to Spain*, pp. 495–8.

*Herds*. Read Herbs as in ED. PR.

P. 58.] *Diogenes' Tree*. Referred to again p. 373. See Stanley, *Hist. Phil.* ed. 1655, vii. 22, who quotes Stob. *Ser.* 55.

*Hoping to meet your Letter*. Here again we have one of the natural touches occurring through the Letters, which either vouch for their authenticity or argue great art on the part of H. in concocting them.

LETTER XXIV.—*Dr. F. Mansel*. See on p. 21.

P. 59.] *O blessed Clime*. H. makes the same remark, *For. Tr.* 75. Readers will remember Charles II.'s boast that in the English climate men may work out of doors more days of the year than in any other: it was probably drawn from this statement here.

*Morviedre*, now Murviedro (*i.e. muri veteres*), was a Greek city established in Spain long before the Carthaginian supremacy.

*Hanibal*, the siege, is described by Sil. Ital., i. 271.

*Many monuments*. These were destroyed by Suchet's soldiers during the Peninsular War. Ford, *l.c.*, 455.

P. 60.] LETTER XXV.—*Christopher Jones*, a college chum of H.'s. See Clark, *Reg.* ii. 298, iii. 306.

*Barillia*. *Salsola soda*. "The salt of glass-wort (called in England Barillia)." *Phil. Trans.* xlii. 71, quoted *New Eng. Dict.*

P. 61.] LETTER XXVI.—*Sir John North*. See on I. i. 21, p. 55.

*Marcia*, should be "Murcia," as in ED. PR.

*Andria Dorea* (Doria), the liberator of Genoa, 1468–1560. The anecdote is quoted from Howell by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, 28.

*Algier Men of War*. The pirates swept the West Mediterranean from about 1616. See note in Forster, *Grand Remons*, 228.

P. 62.] *Bannier at Algier*. See Lane-Poole, *Barbary Corsairs*, c. xvi.

*Scylla*.



*Scylla*. Cf. Sandys, *Travels*, 193.

*Phare*. Cf. Sandys, *l. c.* It is probable H. used Sandys.

*Malamocco*, visited by Sandys, *Travels*, p. 1, F. Moryson, *Itin.* i. 75 ("the haven of Venice"), and by Coryat, *Crudities*, i. 200.

*pratic*, the word is still used for quarantine. Cf. Card. Newman's *Letters*, i. 423.

P. 63.] LETTER XXVII.—*Dr. Howell*. See on I. i.

*twenty-one hours*. Italian clocks used to be divided into 24 divisions, and strike continuously from midnight to midnight, as was recently recommended by the Astronomical Conference at Washington. A few English clock-makers adopted the custom for a time.

*Virgin City*. "This untainted Virgin," says Coryat, *Crudities*, ii. 75, and cf. Wordsworth's Sonnet.

*Infames Scopulos*. Hor. *Odes*, i. 3, 20.

P. 64.] *Corinth, now Ragusa*. This is a mistake of Howell's. Cf. 3 *N. and Q.* vii. 179.

*As stutters use*. On this curious idea see 7 *N. and Q.*, xii. 589, and 8, i. 113.

*Non cuivis*. Hor. *Epist.* i. 17, 36.

*Zacones*, should be *Lacones* (misprint in ED. PR.). See *infra*, p. 467. The statement is derived from Sandys, *Travels*, 63.

P. 65.] LETTER XXVIII.—*Sir Robert Mansell*, one of the best known admirals of James I.'s reign (cf. Lardner's *Brit. Admirals*), and is frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time (Herbert of Cherbury, 26, and in Weldon, ii. 6; Forster, *Eliot*, i. 469 n.; Gardiner, iv. 10, &c.; Nich. *pass.*). His relations with Howell, see on I. i., and for his connection with Venetian glass, cf. Hondoy, *Les Verreries*, pp. cxxviii.—xl. This letter is quoted entire by W. W. Mansel, *Family of Mansel*, p. 75.

*Miotti and Masalao*, mentioned previously. See note on pp. 37, 65. The family of Miotti were distinguished in the history of glass-making. Cf. Hondoy, *l. c.* p. xci., and Nesbitt, *Descr. Cat.* cxx.

*Symns*, mentioned later, pp. 67, 79.

*Sir Henry Wotton*, the celebrated ambassador who lied abroad for the sake of his country (1568–1639). Cf. Herbert of Cherbury, ed. Lee, 150, 231, 265.

*your late marriage* with Anne, daughter of Sir John Roper. Sir Robert's first wife was a sister of Bacon, who refers to him as "my brother" in a letter, Spedding, *Life* vii. 320.

*Arsenal of Venice*. H. refers to this in *For. Tr.* 71, and *S.P.Q.V.* 5, 35, 65, also in *Therologia*, 68, 91.

P. 66.] *Duke of Ossuna* (Ossone), 1579–26 Sept. 1624, the Viceroy of Naples who refused to establish the Inquisition there; for a full account of him, see *infra*, p. 201. Another account is given by Howell in his *Parthenopæia*, p. 31.

*Murano*, still celebrated for the excellence of its glass. See also *Harl. Misc.*, v. 68, Evelyn.

*Greek told me in Sicily*. The only mention of Howell's having landed in Sicily; one of the "natural touches" which tell for the authenticity of the Letters, or for that of the present one.

*Camels' Dung*. This piece of information H. almost certainly got from Sandys, *Travels*, 98; he certainly used the book.

*your Consaerman*. A query was made of this in 1 *N. and Q.* xi. 475. It is passed over in the *Neo Eng. Dict.*, and I can only suggest some confusion with *consorte* or partner.

P. 67.]

P. 67.] LETTER XXIX.—*Brother*. See on I. i. 5, p. 25.

*Symus*, mentioned before, p. 65.

*admit no poison*. This property was generally attributed to glass or crystal, and was often made use of as a test of suspicious beverage. It has, of course, no foundation in fact.

P. 68.] *Lasses and Glasses*. H. uses this jingle again, *S.P.Q.V.* 38, 39.

LETTER XXX.—*Richard Altham*. See on I. i.

*O dulcior illo*. Ovid, *Tristia*, V. iv. 30. For *Mille* in next line read "*Melle*" as in ED. PR.

P. 69.] *High Beauty*. H. refers to this *For. Tr.* 40, *Londin*, 387, *S.P.Q.V.* 37.

*Streets of Paris*. Their foulness has already been referred to, *supra*, p. 43.

*League of Cambray*, between the Pope, the Emperor, France and Spain against Venice, 10 Dec. 1508.

P. 70.] *Bishopsgate Street*. See note on p. 34.

LETTER XXXI.—*Dr. Fr. Mansell*. See on p. 21.

*Hoellus*: this and the title *Epistola Ho-Eliana* are sufficient to indicate the pronunciation of Howell's name, which disregards the "w" altogether.

*Which Marriage*. Evelyn saw it in June 1645. Cf. also Sandy's *Travels*, p. 2. Byron refers to this marriage of the Doge with the Adriatic in his *Childe Harold*, iv. :—

"The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord,  
And, annual marriage now no more renew'd,  
The Bucentaur lies rotting unrestored,  
Neglected garment of her widowhood."

F. Donno published a long heroic poem, *Lo Sponsalizio del Mare*, just as H. was in Venice.

*Galeass*, a compromise between rowing galley and sailing galleon. See Lane-Poole, *Barbary Corsairs*, *pass.* and plates, p. 69 and 227.

*Bucentoro*. See the quotation from Byron, *supra*. The origin of the name seems to be uncertain according to the Oxford Dictionary. It is generally connected with the figure-head of the vessel.

P. 71.] *that famous Ship at Athens*, which went yearly to Crete in memory of the Minotaur and Theseus' escape. Plato, *Phædo*, 58A.

*Hereford School*. See Fisher's poem, *infra*, p. 689.

*Lambskin Hood in Oxford*, as a Bachelor of Arts, who, in full dress, wears such a hood with his gown.

*Calum non animam*. Hor. *Epist.* II. xi. 27.

P. 72.] *Microcosm*. See Prof. Mayor's interesting note on microcosm in *Ferras's Life*, pp. 239-40. Van Helmont's *Paradoxal Discourses concerning the macrocosm and microcosm* was published Lond. 1685. There is also a dissertation of Elert, *De homine Microcosmo*, Leipzig, 1709. Purchas' *Microcosmus*, 1627, is based on the idea to the extent of 818 pp.

P. 73.] LETTER XXXII.—*Richard Altham*. See on p. 33.

*Bezoar*, sometimes called *Snakestone*, and regarded as a powerful antidote; it was really taken from a Persian wild goat. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., and cf. Benfey, *Panschat.* I, § 71.

*potable gold*, also a powerful antidote in the mediæval pharmacopœia. Forde talks of changing "*aurum palpabile* into *aurum potabile*," *Fam. Lett.* 49. On its use Mr. Firth refers to Dr. F. Anthony, *Apology of . . . aurum potabile*, 1616, and Dr. John Cotta, *Cotta contra Antoninum*. There was also an answer by Gwynne, *Aurum non aurum*, 1617 (Lowndes).

P. 74.]

P. 74.] LETTER XXXIII.—*Sir John North*. See on p. 54. The present is nothing more than a model letter. (It is called "A Letter of Gratitude" in the original index.) It is unlikely that H. would have sent so merely formal a letter without saying where he was, &c. But perhaps this part of the letter was excised to avoid repetition.

LETTER XXXIV.—*Dan Caldwell*. See on p. 27.

*all the other nine*, the spheres of the sun and moon, the six planets, and the fixed stars in the Ptolemaic system. See note on p. 26.

*tenth of June*. If the post from Venice to London took twenty days, it is hard to see how Howell could have acknowledged on 29th June a letter dated 10th in London.

P. 75.] *Ship Tavern*, mentioned previously, p. 56, see note there.

*Treasury of St. Mark*. H. refers to this again in his *S.P.Q.V.* 37.

P. 76.] 29 July 1621. The date of the month is inconsistent with H.'s statement of the time the post took from Venice to London.

LETTER XXXV.—*Sir James Crofts*. See note on p. 22.

*Lord Ambassador Wotton's*, referred to before, p. 65. One of Isaac Walton's *Lives* is devoted to him. He was ambassador at Venice 1604, 1616, and 1620.

P. 77.] *Sclavonia*. In Speed's map of Italia in his *Prospect of the most famous Parts of the World*, 1626, he places Sclavonia E. by N. of Venice. It was really the tract of country between the rivers Slav and Drau. H. mentions it, *For. Tr.* 57.

*Battle of Lepanto*, the ancient Naupactus. Don John of Austria defeated the Turks there in 1571.

*there are in all sixty*. Coryat, *Crudities*, i. 212, says seventy-two. Moryson, *l.c.*, i. 76, agrees with H.

P. 78.] *Grand Cairo*. H. has a description of "the gran Cayr" in the Appendix to his *For. Trav.*, ed. Arber, p. 86. See also Webbe's *Travels*, pp. 21–6.

LETTER XXXVI.—*Robert Brown*. Evelyn's father-in-law was so called, also a person named in Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 282.

P. 79.] *Master Web*. This may be Edward Webbe, Master Gunner, afterwards Chief Master Gunner of France, whose interesting *Travels*, 1590, have been edited by Prof. Arber. He would be about sixty-six at this time.

*Cousin Brown*. It is impossible to identify so common a name.

*Randal Symns*, there was a Kent family of this name. Mentioned *supra*, 65, 67.

*Ship Lion* was engaged in the fight against the Spanish Armada. Froude, xii. 378, 403, but the name was a common one.

*famous Hexastie*, given also in Howell's *S.P.Q.V.*, in the Proem. He possibly got it from Coryat, *Crudities*, i. 179 (1726 reprint).

P. 80.] *Sannasaro* (1458–1530), author of *De Partu Virginis*.

*hundred Zecchins*. Coryat, *l.c.*, says "a hundred crownes." He adds, "I would to God my friend Mr. Benjamin Johnson were so well rewarded for his Poems." Zecchens=sequins.

*Sir Hugh Middleton* was H.'s countryman in the sense of being a Denbighshire man (1555–1631). He was knighted 1613. See note on p. 427.

*Ware River*, now called the New River. H. refers to this, *For. Trav.* 73, and in his *Londinopolis*.

*Mr. Leat*, a cousin of R. Altham's (p. 156). See on p. 154.

LETTER XXXVII.—*Captain Thomas Porter*, mentioned in *Poreysland Coll.* xx. 132, among the "Captaines that goeth for Algiers."

30,000 times seems impossible, 500 a minute.

P. 81.] *Another Passage*. This anecdote was taken from Howell by T. Forde in his *Apophthegms*, 1660, p. 87.

*that disease*, syphilis, which each nation desires to credit to foreigners, the English calling it the French disease, the French the Neapolitan, and so on. Its origin is obscure, but is generally attributed to America. Traces of it, however, are said to be found in the bones of the cave men (Boyd Dawkins, *Cave Hunting*), and it has been conjectured that the leprosy of the Hebrews was only its secondary symptoms. H. makes it a French invention in *Germ. Diet.*, 59. Cf. Creighton, *Epidemics*, i. 73.

LETTER XXXVIII.—*Sir William St. John*, mentioned in Edwards, *Raleigh*, i. 562; Nichols, *Prog. James I.*, ii. 418, iii. 772.

*Antenor's Tomb*. Evelyn gives the inscription on it, p. 166 (Chandos ed.), and so does F. Moryson, *Itin.* i. 72.

P. 82.] *three Million of Souls*. Hume discusses this census in his *Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Cities*.

*Herriot*. H. makes another reference to this *Parth.* Proem. A heriot is, of course, the best moveable left at a tenant's death which can be chosen and seized by the landlord.

P. 83.] *Charles III.* should be Charles the Fifth, as in ED. PR.

*Mark of distinction*, a quoit-shaped ring of different coloured cloth stitched on to the outer garment. On the whole subject, with illustrations, see article on *La Roue des Juifs* in *Rev. des Etudes Juives*, t. xiii. *Vespasian's Amphitheatre*, the Colosseum.

P. 84.] *Pius V.* (1504–72). H.'s gossip is quite incongruous with the account given of him as an ascetic in Ranke, *Popes*, iv. § 7.

*Statues at Belveder*. The celebrated Apollo Belvedere; but the Laocoon was also in the Belvedere Gardens, as Evelyn informs us, 18 Jan. 1645.

*Duilius, C.*, the admiral in the great naval fight with the Carthaginians near the Lipari Islands. The inscription celebrating it was dug out of the ground in the sixteenth century, but doubts have been raised as to its genuineness. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, iii. 529; cf. *Lectures*, i. 118. Howell got it from Brerewood, *Inquiries*, 1614, p. 44, who gives it as here. (See on pp. 384, 459.

P. 85.] *Columna Restrata*, so in ED. PR. Should, of course, be *Rostrata*, with reference to the "beaks and prows" of the vessels.

*St. Austin*. "Augustinus fertur tria videre cupiisse; nimirum Christum in carne, Paulum in cathedra, Romam in flore." Freigius, quoted by Prof. Mayor in note on *Lives of Ferrar*, p. 191. Prof. Mayor also compares the passage from Howell.

P. 86.] LETTER XXXIX.—*Sir T. H. Knight*, probably Sir Thomas Hawkins, to whom there are other letters. See on p. 403.

*Courtesans*. Evelyn places their number at 30,000, 6 Feb. 1645.

P. 87.] *Tarantola*, the dance of those bitten by the spider so-called, is probably meant by H., but why he mixes it up with manna I cannot conceive. Perhaps they were the two specialties of Naples that his correspondent would be likely to be interested in.

P. 88.] LETTER XL.—*Christopher Jones*. See on p. 60.

*thirty odd months*. So on p. 99 he speaks of having been away "almost three years."

P. 89.]

P. 89.] *Agnomination*, clearly equivalent to alliteration. H. alludes to this again, *For. Tr.* 48. Rice in his Welsh grammar, Lond. 1592, pp. 277–83, deals with the similarity of Italian and Welsh with regard to alliteration in poetry (I owe this to Prof. Rhys).

*Teugris, todyrris*. Prof. Rhys has kindly given me the following text and version:—*Teugrys tð dyrys ty'r 'deryn gwyllt* = The thick shroud, the tangled thatch of the wild bird's house, &c.

*Donne, O danno*. In *For. Tr., l.c.*, H. gives another example, *Visse, o lasso, &c.* Both passages are from a long Italian poem quoted in Rice's Welsh Grammar, p. 277, with which H. was acquainted, as we know from p. 460, where see.

*My Tutor, Master Moor Fortune*. Perhaps the same as the one mentioned in R. Smyth's *Obituary* (Camd. Soc.), p. 13. "1637, May 17, More Fortune, bayliff of St. Martin's, died."

*Sir Charles Williams*. He was not knighted till 10th April 1621 (Metcalf, p. 178), i.e. after the date of this letter, if genuine, though not after the date added in second edition. Sir Charles was a relation of Sir Trevor whom H. claims as uncle (Harl. MS. 4181, f. 281).

P. 90.] LETTER XLI.—*Sir J. C.*, probably Sir James Crofts. See on p. 22.

P. 91.] *the subtillest*. H. gives them the same character in his *For. Trav.* 41, "when a Jew meeteth with a Genoway, he puts his fingers in his eyes, fearing to be over-reached by him."

*St. George's Mount*, overlooking Genoa.

P. 92.] *Snik and Snee*. Du. tool and knife.

*Winds the Penny*, we say now "turn a penny," and speak of the "nimble ninepence."

P. 93.] LETTER XLII.—*Capt. Francis Bacon*. See on p. 36. He was related to the Vaughans with whom the Howells' were connected. See note on p. 53.

*Padua the Learned*. In his *S.P.Q.V.*, p. 55, Howell gives the original. "Venetia richa, Padoua dotta, Bologna grassa, Roma pomposa, Napoli odorifera e Gentile, Genoa di Superpia altiera piomba, Florenza bella, Grande Milano." He got it from Moryson, *l.c.*, iii. 50. Cf. too *Germ. Diet*, p. 22.

*Duke of Feria*. He is mentioned by Evelyn (Chandos ed.), 182. See also Gard. vii. 348, and D.N.B. s.v. Feria.

*Dormer*, a life of *Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, by P. Clifford, appeared as recently as 1887.

P. 94.] *the Dome*, the world-famous Milan Cathedral, begun in 1385.

*Citadel of Antwerp*. See on p. 38.

*Nova Palma*, also referred to in *For. Tr.* 43.

*Genius of the Nation*. H. gives a somewhat similar characterisation in *Germ. Diet*. Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, III. i., c. iii. is devoted to a comparison of the nations of Europe. Cf. also Defoe's account in *Memoirs of Cavalier*. ed. Bohn, 23.

P. 95.] *greatest embracers of pleasure*. H. uses the same phrase of the Italians in *For. Tr.* 41.

LETTER XLIII.—*Sir J. H.* Probably a misprint for Sir T. H., Sir Thomas Hawkins, on whom see pp. 86 and 403.

*Mr. Lewis*. There is a Lewis mentioned in Spedding, *Life*, vii. 30, as patentee of berths from Wales, who may have been H.'s friend or related to him.

P. 97.]

P. 97.] *Twelve in the hundred*. Adam Smith, ed. Nicholson, p. 38, mentions that between 1720-60 it fluctuated from 2 to 5 per cent.

LETTER XLIV.—*Mr. Tho. Bowyer*. See on p. 28. He died 8 Feb. 1659 in London according to Wood, *Athenæ*. There is a Dr. Bowyer mentioned in the Fairfax correspondence, ii. 37.

*Calvin's Time*, his influence at Genoa is referred to, p. 516.

*Strange Accident*. The earliest form of this story I can find is in Poggio's *Facetie*. Mr. King has traced it in Bayle, *Dict.*, s.v. Buridan, Salan's *Invisible World*, No. xxxvi., and Crowe, *France*, i. 353. H. got it from Rosset, *XVIII. Histoires tragiques*, Paris 1609, whence also he took the story of Coucy Castle on p. 323.

## SECTION II.

Consisting of twenty-five letters relating the events of two years, 1620-22, during which Howell "coached" the young Savages, one of whom was afterwards Earl Rivers, and then travelled in France and Holland with young R. Altham.

P. 99.] LETTER I.—*To my Father*. See on p. 19.

*Almost three years*. See also *For. Tr.* 63, where the grand tour is said to take three years and four months, and *ibid.* p. 87, forty months.

*Dr. Harvey*, the great discoverer of the theory of the circulation. Mr. Bennett suggests that Howell might have met him at Padua, where Harvey had been studying. This cannot be, as Harvey took his degree there in 1602.

*M. Cadenet*, brother of Luynes (138, 150). His coming is dated by D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 164, 29 Dec. 1620. Cf. Gard. iii. 589, and Herbert, *Autob.* ed. Lec, 225 n. H. gives anecdotes of him, *Lustra Ludov.* 36, and *Finetti*, 67, 193.

P. 100.] *Tall Men*. There is the same anecdote in the *Apophthegms* of Bacon, who was probably therefore not above 5 ft. 6 in. himself. H. gives the story again, *Germ. Diet.* 30, and it is quoted by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, p. 88.

P. 100.] LETTER II.—*Rich. Altham*. See on p. 33.

*Female long'd*, alluding to the superstition (or fact?) that women when *enceinte*, take capricious and violent longing for things they see, and must not be thwarted.

*three hours' riding* from Norberry, where this is addressed. See on p. 101.

LETTER III.—*D. Caldwell, Esq.* See on p. 27.

*at Battersay*. Cf. Morant, *Essex*, ii. 219, where it is stated that he was the son of Lawrence Caldwell of Battersey.

P. 101.] LETTER IV.—*Sir James Crofts*. See on p. 22.

*Norberry*. Probably Norberry Park, co. Surrey, afterwards the residence of the Lockes mentioned so frequently by Mad. D'Arblay.

*Lord Darcy*. Thomas Darcy (†1640) was created Lord Darcy 8 Oct. 1613, and Viscount Colchester 5 July 1621, and Earl Rivers 4 Nov. 1626. Cf. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, iii. 22, and cf. Morant, *Essex*, ii. p. 458.

*St. Osyth*, in Essex on the sea: the estate here referred to was originally a monastery, Chiche St. Osyth's, which was given to Cromwell at the Dissolution, and then came to the Darcys (Morant, *l.c.*, i. 28, 140, ii. 396, 397, 457).

Council

*Council of Prague.* H. means the Bohemian Estates assembled at Prague. *Palsgrave* was elected King, 16 Aug. 1619 (Gard. iii. 309).  
*Par negotio.* H. was fond of this phrase; he uses it in his letter to Clarendon, p. 668.

P. 102.] *Dr. Hall*, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, the well-known poet and satirist (1574–1656). He had only recently returned from the Council of Dort. See on p. 149, and cf. *D.N.B.*, s. v.

*Duke of Bavaria*, the Elector Maximilian the Great.

*Sudden Battel.* Frederick was dining with the English ambassadors at the time, so little was an attack expected (Gard. iii. 383 and *n.*). The battle was known in London, 24th Nov. 1620 (C.H.F.).

*a whole twelve month*, 5 Sept. 1619–29 Oct. 1620.

*Custrain.* See Mrs. Green, *Princesses*, v. 350; “Custrin, a princely residence forty-eight miles from Berlin.”

P. 103.] LETTER V.—*Dr. Fr. Mansell.* See on p. 21.

*a running Academy.* The same phrase is used *Germ. Did.* 7.

*Sir Robert Mansel.* See on p. 65. He was absent as commander against the Algiers pirates, Oct. 1620–June 1621 (Southey-Bell, *Brit. Admirals*, v. 60–63, after Purchas, *Pilgr.* 885–6).

*Sir John Ayres.* For a curious incident between Sir John and Lady Ayres and Herbert of Cherbury, see the latter’s *Autobiography*, ed. Lee, pp. 129–38, 141. Sir John Eyre (as he is also called) was ambassador to Constantinople, 1616–21. See also on p. 141.

*Resignation.* Dr. Mansell became Principal, 3 July 1620, and resigned in May 1621 in favour of Sir Eubule Thelwall (Wood, *Colleges*, 577, and Lloyd, *Mem.* 540).

*North Wales Men.* This is a point in favour of H.’s birth-place being in South Wales, but does not decide between Abernant and Bryn, since both Carmarthenshire and Brecon are South.

*Landloper*, Dutch for vagabond, *Landlooper*. Scott uses the word in the *Antiquary*: “But what will come of the *landlouper*?” Is it possible that this can be the origin of the seamen’s “landlubber”?

P. 104.] LETTER VI.—*Sir Eubule Thelwall* was a Denbighshire man, B.A. both of Cambridge and Oxford, and a great benefactor to Jesus College (Wood, *Colleges*, 574, 577).

*Fellow of your new Foundation.* Prof. Rhys has found evidence of Howell’s election as Fellow in Jesus College books (see Doc. xl.). The new foundation refers to the Charter which Sir Eubule obtained on June 1, 1622 (Wood, *l.c.*, 574). The main object of this was to permit the College to have only half the old foundations, viz., eight fellows and scholars instead of sixteen.

*id. Mart* 1621. Obviously wrong in the month, as the charter was dated 1 June 1622, and H. refers to it, 15 Mar. 1621–2. In fact the whole Letter is misplaced, as H. was elected during his second visit to Spain in 1623.

P. 105.] LETTER VII.—*To my Father.* See on p. 19.

*I am to go travel with them.* He did not after all (*infra*, p. 111), so that this seems like a natural touch vouching for the authenticity of this letter. But see at end.

*Sir James Crofts.* See on p. 22.

*Long-Melford*, four miles N. of Sudbury. The Hall was an old seat of the Savages, and was plundered during the Civil Wars.

*St. Osith in Essex.* See on p. 101.

Lord

*Lord Savage.* Sir Thomas Savage, who had married Lord Darcy's daughter and heiress. Sir Thomas became Viscount Savage in 1626, and was therefore only Sir Thomas at the presumptive date of this letter.

*Lord Darcy.* See on p. 101.

*Q. Anne is lately dead.* March 2, 1619 (Gard. iii. 294. Law, *l.c.* ii. 86).

*Denmark House.* Somerset House, for some time named after Anne of Denmark. A mistake; the death took place at Hampton Court. E. Law, *Hampton Court*, vol. ii., devotes c. vii. to her death.

*last fearful comet,* another reference *infra*, 576. Gardiner notices it, iii. 295, and refers to Corbet, *Poet. Epistle*.

*one Piero.* Nichols, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 548 *seq.* The Herbert Papers, No. cxci., contain an "Inventory of the Things found in the two Trunks of Piere Hugon, 8 Oct. 1619" (*Powysl. Coll.* xx. 247). Law, *l.c.* p. 83, calls him Pira or Pierrot.

"*Goody Palsgrave.*" Cf. Coke Papers (Hist. MS. Com.), i. 64, *Jas. I.*, ii. 252. Lloyd was censured for saying, "What has become of your Goodman Palsgrave?" D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 189. Cf. Campbell, *Chief Justices*, i. 366.

*Secretary Winwood.* Sir Ralph (1565–1617). He was dead at this time, but H. does not necessarily refer to him as living.

*Cautionary Towns.* See on p. 36.

*Sir John Walter* was one of Shropshire's worthies (Fuller, ed. Nicholls, ii. 259) and a benefactor of Jesus College, which may account for H.'s acquaintance with him. Fuller says of him, "When a *Pleader*, eminent; when a *Judge*, more eminent; when *no Judge*, most eminent," because he resisted benevolences and lost his place thereby. He died in 1630.

*Master J. Lloyd.* There is a Lloyd mentioned in Herbert's *Autob.*, ed. Lee, p. 8, who may possibly be the man referred to.

P. 106.] 28 Mar. 1618. Under the old dating this would correspond to 1619, and is therefore a suitable enough date. But the slip about Denmark House is suspicious, as well as the reference to Sir Thomas as Lord Savage. And H. could not have been in England so early as the spring of 1619.

LETTER VIII.—*Dan Caldwell.* See on p. 27.

P. 107.] *Bon Christian Pear*, still grown under the name of "Bon Chrétien." The name is thus one of the rare examples of a foreign name Anglicised and then reverting to the foreign form.

*Bergamot*, a variety of the pear. "The best perrie is made of . . . Bergamot," says Markham, *Country Farm*, 417.

*Muscadel.* This is properly the name of the raisin; the vine from which it is grown is technically known as "Muscat of Alexandria."

*Mr. Daniel.* There is a Daniel mentioned in Winwood, *Mem.* iii. 367.

*House of Long Melford*, near Sudbury in Suffolk.

*Manor of Sheriff*, properly Shreves or Sherwaies in Lexden Hundred, co. Essex. See Morant, *Essex*, i. 220.

LETTER IX.—*Robert Brown.* See on p. 78.

*Sir Robert Mansel being now*, up to June 1621. See *supra*, on p. 103.

*hogling.* A misprint for *bogling*.

P. 108.] *back stratagem.* "He crossed the river below Coblenz . . . suddenly wheeling round, he recrossed the line" (Gard. iii. 368).

*Take Oppenheim*, Sept. 4, 1620. Kreutznach and Alzey had already capitulated (Gard. iii. 369). There is no evidence of his appearing before Oppenheim previously. A good account of the capture of Oppenheim is given by Defoe, *Memoirs of Cavalier*, c. v., probably derived from some more trustworthy source.

*Marquis*



*Marquis of Anspack* or Ansbach, a marquissate generally associated with that of Bayreuth. At this time both principalities were held by Joachim of Brandenburg, who granted that of Ansbach to his son Earnest, the person here meant.

*Spinola's* (1569–1630). General-in-Chief of the Spanish army in the Netherlands from 1604. Referred to Nicholls, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 805.

*an Ass laden*. A saying of Philip of Macedon, quoted Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* III. xvi. 13.

*Sir Horace Vere* (1565–1635) spent a great part of his life on the Continent, helped to defend Ostend when Spinola attacked it 1604, and had been governor of the Brill. Frequently mentioned in Herbert of Cherbury, *Autobiography*, ed. Lee, xvi. 21, 113, 117, 146. A saying of his at the Palatine Council of War given by Forde, *Apophth.* 24. An account of him in Markham's *Fighting Veres*, 1888 (C.H.F.).

*Sir Arthur Chichester* (†1625) had been Lord-Deputy of Ireland. Mentioned Nich. iii. 1, Fairf. iii. 39.

P. 109.] *Middle Isle* [aisle] of *Pauls*, i.e., of Old St. Paul's. This was a favourite lounge, as we know from the polite literature of the time.

*Cheapside*. A favourite resort of H.'s, as we know from other references, p. 265.

LETTER X.—*R. Altham*. See on p. 33.

*5th of this present*. H. had waited long to answer if the letter was really written on the 30th.

*Poldavie Ware*, also "polderay," the coarse bagging stuff used for sacks. So the dictionaries (Nares, Whitney); but would "ware" be used of such things?

*Lady Savage*, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Darcy, and wife of Sir Thomas Savage, who was to have succeeded his father-in-law in his title. See *supra*, on p. 105.

*Earl Rivers*, is a premature title, as Viscount Colchester was only promoted to that title in 1626.

*Hilary Term* begins on Jan. 23, so that the letter, if authentic, would be written about the end of the year.

P. 110.] LETTER XI.—*Algier Voyage*. Sir R. Mansel's fleet returned in June 1621. See the reference on p. 103.

*Hoggies*. Hadjis who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

*Maribots*, now spelt "marabout"; the monks of Islam.

*Countryman Ward*, his achievements among the Barbary Corsairs have been recounted by Gardiner, iii. 65, 66. There are contemporary pamphlets on his exploits, see Lowndes, s. v. Barker and *News* (H. K.). Cf. *Germ. Diet*, 36, and Nicholls, ii. 158.

*Danskey the Butterbag Hollander* should be Dansker, Gard. *l.c.*, or Simeon Danser, according to Stanley Poole, *Barbary Corsairs*, 226. Butterbag (also "Butterbox") is a slang term for a Dutchman, containing some allusion to his proverbial corpulence.

P. 111.] *One in the hundred*. This may be regarded as a kind of insurance against pirates, though the tax seems to have been not to save their own ships, but to pay for destroying those of the Corsairs.

*Colchester Oysters* have been celebrated from Roman times.

*Lord Colchester*. Lord Darcy was made Viscount Colchester, 5th July 1621, which would agree with the date of this letter.

*green finn'd* are supposed to be a special delicacy. Prof. Ray Lancaster has traced

traced the origin of the colour to the chemical composition of the banks in France whence they are derived.

LETTER XII.—*To my Father*. See on p. 19.

P. 112.] *Baron Altham, son*. Richard, frequently mentioned. See on p. 33, and Index.

*My Brother*, afterwards the Bishop of Bristol. See on p. 25.

*Prince Palsgrave* arrived at the Hague in April 1621 (Gard. *Pref.* to vol. iv., where he discusses the authenticity of this letter).

*the old D. of Bavaria's Uncle*. "Whatever that may mean," says Prof. Gardiner; I will not rush in where he fears to tread.

*Arch seuer*, corresponding to the Germ. *Erstruchfess*, a title held by the Electors Palatine till 1623. (I owe this interesting point to the courtesy of Mr. H. Bradley.)

*Count Mansfelt* begun to get a great name in Germany in the spring of 1622 (Gard. *l.c.*, and *cf.* iv. 195).

*Halverstade* (Halberstadt), the Duke of Brunswick was Frederick Ulrich, the last of his line.

*Sir Arthur Chichester*. See on p. 108. He returned from Germany at the end of 1622 according to Gard., *l.c.*, who has certainly selected a very glaring example.

*Sir Horace Vere*. See on p. 108.

*My Lord of Buckingham*. He was only Earl of Buckingham till 1623, when he was made Duke.

*Master of the horse*. He was elected to this office in 1616.

*High Admiral of England*. But he had been appointed to this office in 1616.

*Treasurer Cranfield* (1575–1645) afterwards Earl of Middlesex, one of Bacon's chief opponents, and distinguished for his economies in the king's household. See also Gard. iv. 233.

*formerly a Merchant*. He was the proverbial apprentice who marries his master's daughter (and heiress).

19 Mar. 1622, *i.e.* 1623. Prof. Gardiner, in the *Pref.* to his fourth volume, points out the many discrepancies in this letter which, professing to give the news of the day, wobbles about between 1619 and 1623.

P. 113.] LETTER XIII.—*Sir John Smith*. See on p. 17, the opening letter of the second edition.

*Trevere* or Vere, on the Island of Walcheren, north of Flushing.

365 *Children*. This legend is found located at Landona (Loosduenen) in Brereton *Travels* (Chet. Soc.), p. 35 (C.H.F.). Evelyn also refers to it under date 1 Sept. 1641.

P. 114.] *Mr. Altham*. Richard, with whom H. was travelling. See above, Letter XII., p. 111.

*Sir John Franklin*, mentioned in Nicholls, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 24, as being knighted, 2 Oct. 1614.

*at the Hill*. Tower Hill, where Sir T. Savage seems to have resided, p. 132.

*Mr. Sci's the stationer* in Fleet Street. See Bibl. List No. 39. *Cf.* Arber, *Stat. Reg.* iii. 684 c.

LETTER XIV.—*Lord Viscount Colchester*, previously Lord Darcy. See on p. 105. This is one of the points of accuracy about title referred to in Introduction, p. lxxviii.

P. 115.] *Came, saw, and overcame*. A reference, of course, to Cæsar's *veni, vidi, vici*. But the translation is somewhat peculiar, and is the same as that used in *As You Like It*, v. 2, and 2 *Hen. IV.*, iv. 3, whence H. may have derived it. Shakespeare was favourite reading of Charles I.

*chang'd his coat*. Seemingly an early use of this somewhat slang expression, but

but in reality H. is using it quite literally with reference to Spinola's change of uniform.

*Imperial Ban.* H. gives some account of this in his *Disc.* 45, also *infra*, 298. *Duke of Bavaria.* This seems a reference to the change of Electorate in 1623 (Gard. iv. Pref.).

LETTER XV.—With this should be compared Fynes Moryson's elaborate survey (in his *Itinerary*, 1617, Bk. iii.), and Evelyn or Feltham's satiric *Character of the Low Countries*, 1660. (This latter has been erroneously attributed to Howell.)

P. 116.] *Unweildy Woman.* The Duchess Margaret, natural daughter of Charles V. Part II. of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* deals with her Administration, 1559-67. Why H. calls her "unweildy" I know not. She was masculine in appearance, and wore a moustache. That she was liable to gout is a point in favour of H.'s epithet (Motley, *l.c.*, i. 230). *Golden Fleece*, is a Burgundian Order, having been founded by Philip III., Duke of Burgundy, in 1429.

P. 117.] *Egmond*, Lamoral, Count of Egmont, 1522-1568, the earliest leader against the Spaniards in the Netherlands; now best known perhaps as the title-hero of Goethe's drama.

*Horn*, Philip Montmorency, Count of, executed with Egmont, 1568, for opposing the Spaniards. He was himself a Protestant.

*Bloetrad.* Dutch "Bloody Council." Cf. Howell's *Patricius*, p. 7.

*Duke of Alva.* Ferdinando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva (1508-83), the celebrated Governor of the Netherlands.

*Cousin Paccio*, Pachicho or Paccotti, an Italian engineer and architect of the Antwerp citadel, but not related in any way to Alva, nor was Alva the cause of his death, as he was put to death during an *émeute* at Flushing (Motley, ii. 361).

*Don Luys de Requiluis*, properly Requesens y Cuñega, who succeeded Alva in 1573.

*Pacification of Ghent*, the Congress of Ghent in 1576.

P. 118] *Don John of Austria* (1546-78), the conqueror of Lepanto, was Governor of the Netherlands for the last two years of his life. His life has been exhaustively treated in the masterly monograph of Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell.

P. 119.] *Earl of Leicester.* His adventures in the Netherlands are told at length in Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. i.

*Flushing and Brill.* See *supra*, p. 36, and Motley, *l.c.*, i. 301, 342. Sir Philip Sidney was the first governor of Flushing.

*Count Maurice.* See on p. 124.

P. 120.] *twelve years*, 1609-21, the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain which intervened between the struggle for Dutch Independence and the Thirty Years' War.

*dispensed with himself from payment.* Cf. Weiss, *L'Espagne sous Philippe II.* (C.H.F.).

*Goletta*, the port of Tunis. See Stirling-Maxwell *Don John*, ii. 9.

*A State of Holland.*

*A Province of Flanders*, now Belgium.

P. 122.] *Antwerp.* See *supra*, p. 38, and cf. *For. Tr.* 71.

*Gresham* was King's Agent at Antwerp from 1552 onwards.

P. 123.] *Amsterdam.* Cf. the elaborate comparison at end of *Londinopolis* and *supra*, pp. 25, 29.

P. 124.]

- P. 124.] *Balue*. There is no Dutch word similar to this, which must therefore stand for "bailiff," the Dutch for which is *Schout*, which is ingeniously Englished by H. as *scout*. Brereton, *Travels* (Chet. Soc.), p. 9, says "Baylie or Scout, *id est*, High Sheriff."  
*Vroetschoppens*. Town Councillors; the word is now spelt *Vroedschap*. Brereton, l. c., p. 8, calls them "Vornscapp or aldermen."  
*Prince Maurice* (1564–1625), son of William the Silent, whom he succeeded as Stadtholder.
- P. 125.] *Busses*, the vessels used in the herring-fishing. There is a tract called *Britain's Buss* in Prof. Arber's *English Garner*, vol. iii. 621 *seq.*
- P. 126.] *Eight Quarts*. H. repeats this in his *Germ. Diet*, 19, but raises the quantity to twelve quarts (three galls.).
- P. 127.] *Trevere*. See on p. 113.  
*Scots Trade*. Even after the Union of the two crowns the Scots trade was quite independent of the English. Cf. Seeley, *Expansion of England*, pt. I., c. vii. p. 131.  
*Jews in Rome*. See *supra*, p. 2.  
*Outward Mark*. See *supra*, note on p. 84. Evelyn gives a curious account, 6th May 1645.  
*Waggons*. On this see a passage in Vaughan, *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell*, ii. 468 (C.H.F.).  
*Mariner's compass*, invented by Chinese, was passed on to Europe by the Arabs, long before the Dutch came into prominence (Cf. Klaproth's *Lettre à M. Humboldt*); even the thirty-two points are early, and are mentioned by Chaucer in his *Astrolabe*.
- P. 128.] *Walloon*. See on p. 474.
- P. 129.] LETTER XVI.—*Mr. Hugh Penry*, probably some relation of J. Penry the Brownist, executed 1593 (see p. 579). He was Vicar of Dyfynog, according to the family pedigree of the Howells. For his descendants see Jones, *Brecon*, i. p. 662. He died in 1637, if H.'s date (*infra*, 339) is to be trusted. He was elected Fellow of Jesus at the same time as H. (see Doc. xl.).
- P. 130.] LETTER XVII.—*Dr. Howell*. See on p. 25.  
*Anne*. See preceding letter.  
*Mansfelt*. See on p. 112 a further reference to his defeat, p. 163.  
*Ambassadors*. They were the laughing-stock of the Continent, says Forster, *Eliot*, i. 96 (referring to Howell).  
*Sir Richard Weston*, afterwards Lord Treasurer. On him see Gard., *Span. Match*, i. 336, where he is mentioned with reference to the embassy here referred to. He was one of the "*pioneers of British Agriculture*." Prothero, p. 32.  
*Sir Edward Conway*. See on p. 240.  
*Lord Carlisle*, "honest camel's face," as Charles I.'s sister called him. Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 194, 2nd ed. We shall meet him again at Paris, p. 215, and Madrid, p. 171.  
*Sir Arthur Chichester*. See on p. 108.  
*Lord Digby* (1580–1652), afterwards Earl of Bristol. H. became well acquainted with him later on at Madrid, so much so, indeed, that Buckingham refused to help him on because he was so "digbyfied," p. 239.
- P. 131.] *to Winter*, rather early in June. See next note.  
*10 June, 1622*. This does not agree with the statement just made that they were going to winter in Paris.

LETTER XVIII.—*Dr. Tho. Pritchard*. See on p. 31.  
*Worcester House* in the Strand, the house of the Marquis of Worcester of the  
 "Century of Inventions."  
*Pont de Cl.* H. gives an account of the battle in his *Lust. Lud.* 49 under the  
 date 1620.

P. 132.] *Inns of Court*, Gray's Inn. See on p. 33.

LETTER XIX.—*Sir Tho. Savage*, 2nd Baronet, afterwards created Viscount  
 Savage, 1626, and was to have succeeded his father-in-law as Earl Rivers,  
 but predeceased him. H. was for a time tutor to his two sons. Cf. Ellis,  
 i. 262; Nichols, iii. 348 n.  
*Rochel*. H. gives a tolerably full account of the quarrel between Louis XIII.  
 and the Reformers in his *Lust. Lud.* p. 52 seq.

P. 133.] *Celestines*. In *Lustra Lud.* p. 52. H. says 200,000 by the Pope,  
 200,000 by the College of Cardinals, and 200,000 by the French clergy.

P. 134.] *that's under France*, part of Navarre being in Spain.  
*they of the Religion*, i.e., of the Reformed religion. This phrase occurs fre-  
 quently in H., *infra*, 150, 225, and *For. Trav.*, ed. Arber, 46.  
*Cardinal of Guise*. Louis III. of Lorraine (1575–1621). No account of the  
 quarrel is given in *Lust. Lud.*, which seems to prove that H. did not  
 utilise that book, then in process of making, to fill out the *Letters*.

P. 135.] LETTER XX.—*D. Caldwell*. See on p. 27.  
*River Seguana*. Latin name of the Seine.  
*Lewis of Poissy*. This story is taken from H. by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, 89.  
*Table book*. Tablets. See Earle, *Microcosmography*, ed. Bliss, p. 315.  
*as I did once at Rouen*. See *supra*, p. 40.  
*Whitest kidskin* were thus better in England than in France at this time. The  
 gloves of England were not incorporated till 1638.

P. 136.] LETTER XXI.—*Phlebotomy*. Harvey's discovery gave a new im-  
 petus to bloodletting; Riolan and Botal declared it a panacea, and were  
 followed by Willis. Cf. Dechambre, *Dict. enc. des sciences médicales*, s. v.  
 Saignée.

P. 137.] *two Columns*. With reference to the doctrine of the four elements:  
 the body made of earth and nourished by air is supported by fire and water.

LETTER XXII.—*Sir Tho. Savage*. See on p. 132.

P. 138.] *D. of Luynes*. See on p. 46. He was made Constable of France  
 2 Ap. 1621. Cf. the account in *Lust. Lud.* 55 of his interview with Her-  
 bert of Cherbury.  
*Cadenet*. See on p. 99.

P. 139.] *Valtolin*, the Spanish Governor of Milan, had seized the valley of  
 Valtelline, near Grisons, Dec. 1620. Gard., *Sp. Match*, i. 389. Valtelin is  
 the canton of Switzerland nearest Austria.  
 15 Dec. 1622, at least eighteen months post-dated.

LETTER XXIII.—*Sir John North*. See on p. 54.

P. 140.] *Anne de Arque*. A curious form for Joan of Arc.  
*Vacandary*. See on p. 40. Digby sent him off from Madrid to Flanders  
 about 2nd Feb. 1622 (Rec. Off. S. P. For. Spain, Bundle 60).

P. 141.]

P. 141.] LETTER XXIV.—*Sir Jas. Crofts*. See on 22.  
*Epernon*. See on 131.

P. 142.] LETTER XXV.—*Cousin, Mr. Will Martin*. Perhaps the W. Martin mentioned in Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 366.

*Intelligencer*, writer of news. H. was himself destined to have peculiar practice in this kind of letter-writing.

P. 143.] *Ragged Staff*, used as a metaphor for Spain elsewhere, pp. 297, 436. The reference is probably, as Mr. Bradley suggests, to the cognisance or emblem of St. James of Campostello, the patron saint of Spain. H. uses the expression for Spain throughout his *Dendrologia*.

*la pomme du pin*. The most renowned literary inn of Paris, at the corner of the Pont Notre Dame. It is mentioned by Villon, Rousseau, Regnier, Boileau, Dumas (*Trois Mousq.*), and Ste. Beuve, who calls it "la véritable taverne littéraire." Cf. De Ris, *Les enseignes de Paris*, p. 15, and F. Michel, *Histoire des Hôtels*, ii. 303 (I owe the latter reference to M. Paul Meyer).

### SECTION III.

This section contains the letters relating to the Spanish Match and Prince Charles' visit to Madrid, Feb. 17–5 Oct. 1623. They are seemingly less "cooked" than the others. Some of the originals appear to have been in the possession of the late Earl of Westmoreland (*Hist. MSS. Com.* X. iv. 55).

P. 144.] LETTER I.—*Lord of Arundel* and Surrey (1592–1646), was Earl Marshal of England, 29 Aug. 1621.

*Sir Henry Montague*, raised to the Barony of Montagu of Boughton in 1621, but H. is referring to him as Judge. The same anecdote is told in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, xxi. D'Ewes, i. 160, says he gave £20,000 for the post.

*Lord Cranfield*, afterwards Earl of Middlesex, 16th Sept. 1622, so that there is a scrupulous accuracy about his title.

P. 145.] *Kinswoman*. Ann Brett (C.H.F.).

LETTER II.—*Mr. John Savage*, afterwards Earl Rivers, and formerly H.'s pupil. See on p. 235.

*the same lodgings*. This seems a touch of nature vouching for the authenticity of the present letter. H. is referring to the tour with Altham.

P. 146.] *Inglese Italionato*. This saying seems to have been first quoted by R. Ascham in a passage of his *Schoolmaster* quoted at length in the introduction to my edition of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. Cf. also Vernon Lee, *Euphorion*.

*my Lord your grandfather*. Lord Darcy, see on p. 101.

*Brawn in collars*. A receipt "to collar a pig," is given in W. C. Hazlitt, *Old Books on Cookery*, 105.

*Mr. Thomas Savage*. John's brother, and likewise a former pupil of H.'s.

*Mr. Bold*, probably a member of the Lancashire family, Bolds of Bold Hall, and the governor or travelling tutor of the young Savages, a post which H. had declined. He was made Fellow of Jesus, see p. 697.

P. 147.] LETTER III.—*Sir James Crofts*. See on p. 22.

*Sir Richard Weston*. See p. 130 n.

*called them his Ambassadors*. "Bring stools for the ambassadors" were his words, Dec. 11, 1621. Gard., *Sp. Match*, ii. 140. Wilson makes James say, "Here are twelve kings come to me."

*Sir Edward Coke*, the celebrated opponent of Bacon. He was imprisoned on the present occasion. He is the "Eirenurch" of H.'s *Dodona's Grove*.

on

on the point of Dissolution, a protest on liberty of speech for the Commons. Gard., *l.c.*, 149. The Protest was on Dec. 18, 1621; the Dissolution on Jan. 6, 1622.

*Lord Digby.* See on p. 130. He was despatched to Spain about March 24, 1622. Gard., *Sp. Match*, ii. 216 n.

P. 148.] *Lady Hatton*, grand-daughter of Burghley. An account of the wrongs she suffered at the hands of her second husband, Coke, is given in the Pref. to *S.P.* for 1634.

*her Husband Coke*, with whom she had quarrelled about the Hatton estate. Gard., *l.c.*, i. 93.

*Lord of Colchester.* See on p. 114.

LETTER IV.—*Brother Mr. Hugh Penry.* See on p. 129.

P. 149.] *Synod of Dort* lasted from 13 Nov. 1618 to 29 May 1619. Hale's letters from the Synod are given at the end of his *Golden Remains* (C.H.F.). *Lord Bishop of Llandaff.* Bishop Field, H.'s friend, on whom see on p. 230. *Balcaneu* (or qual), Dr. Walter; his letters from the Synod are also contained in Hale's *Remains*, *ad fin.*

*Arminius.* See on p. 32.

*Vorstius* (1569–1622). One of whose theological tracts was burnt by order of James I. He is frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time (D'Ewes, 82; Sir D. Carleton, *Letters pass.*; Earle, *Microc.* 103. Cf. Forster, *Grand Rem.* 107).

*Dole in Lorraine*, between Dijon and Geneva. It belonged to Spain at the time, and till conquered by Louis XIV. The Jesuit's palace is still one of the sights.

16 Apr. 1622, flagrantly misdated; the return from the Synod could not have been later than June 1619.

LETTER V.—*Lord Viscount of Colchester*, Lord Darcy. See on p. 101. He was raised to the title of Viscount Colchester in 1621: H.'s accuracy about titles is striking.

P. 150.] *Venetian Gazette*, practically the first newspaper in Europe. It was so called after the coin paid for it, and this received its name from Gaza in Palestine.

*Mansfeld hath been beaten* at Wimpfen, April 26, 1622, after which he retreated into Alsace. Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 197.

*Berghen-op-Zoom*, besieged in Aug. 1622. The siege is mentioned by Herbert, *Autob.*, 21, and described in dispatches of Sir D. Carleton's in Sir T. Roe's *Negotiations*, 1740; Letters, l. lix.

*Cardinal of Guise.* See on p. 134.

*Lord Hays.* Query Baron Hay of Sawley, created 1615, but he became Viscount Doncaster in 1618, and Earl of Carlisle 1622, when this letter is supposed to be written. H. calls him Lord Hayes (after Earl of Carlisle) in *Lust. Lud.*, p. 34.

*Sir Edward Herbert* of Cherbury. His clashings with Luynes are told at length by H. in his *Lustra Ludovici*, p. 57. Letters to him, pp. 352, 427. *the greatest Favourite.* See a similar description of him on p. 138 n.

P. 151.] LETTER VI.—*Turky Company*, also called Levant Company, founded by Elizabeth 1579.

*Sir Robert Napper*, or Napier. For letter to him, see I. iii. 34, p. 205, *infra*. *Captain Leat.* See on p. 154.

*Sir Charles Cornwallis.* Was knighted 11th May 1603 (Metcalfe, 141). There is a letter to his lady, *infra*, p. 422.

P. 152.]

P. 152.] *Sir Paul Pindar*. See on p. 543.

*Mr. Walsingham Gresly*. See on p. 204.

P. 153.] LETTER VII.—*Sir T. Savage*. See on p. 132.

*Digby*. See on p. 130. He was despatched to Spain Mar. 24, 1622. See on p. 147.

*Abbot*, Archb. of Canterbury (1562–1633), see D.N.B. This homicide happened 24 July 1622, and was taken advantage of by his enemies to humiliate him. Cf. D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 201; and Ellis. 3 *Orig. Lett.* iv. 183.

*Sir Henry Martin*. Cf. Nicholls, *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 135 n.

*Guilford* (Guildford), where the almshouses still exist, for I have seen them.

P. 154.] 9 Nov. 1622. Abbot's homicide in July could not have been known in March before Digby set out.

LETTER VIII.—*Capt. Nick. Leat*. A full account of him appears in A. Brown's *Genesis of the U.S.*, in the biographical Appendix of the second vol. (C.H.F.). He is mentioned in both Stow and Malcolm's Histories of London (H. K.).

*Wounding the Sergeants*. This looks like an authentic touch.

P. 155.] LETTER IX.—*Arthur Hopton*, died 1649. See Skelton's *Oxfords.*, Evelyn (Chandos), 200, 485, Nichols, iii. 877.

*a very comely lady*. This description is quoted in *Somer Tracts*, ii. 536 n.

*big lip'd*. Grammont has much to say on the big lips of the Emperor Leopold (C.H.F.). Cf. Burton, *Anatomie*, I. ii. 1, § 6, "The Austrian lip and those Indians' flat noses are propagated" (i.e., are hereditary).

*Austrian Family of Bourbons*. The Bourbon lip is celebrated, and is mentioned by Carlyle about Marie Antoinette.

*Sixteen*. "Had now entered on her seventeenth year," says Gard., *Sp. M.*, ii. 273.

*Don Carlos*. Not the Carlos of the play, who died in 1568. This one was the king's brother. His death is mentioned *infra*, p. 286.

P. 156.] LETTER X.—*Capt. Leat*. See on p. 154.

*Mr. Simon Digby*. Frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time (Sir D. Carleton, *Letters*, ed. 1780, p. 402; *S.P.*, p. 520; *Jas. I.*, ii. 354; Jesse, i. 333). He was a great traveller; we hear of him in H.'s letters at Madrid, Vienna, Moscow, and Constantinople. Digby records his arrival at Madrid "Vpon the thirtieth day of January here arrived my Cosen Simon Digbie," 2nd Feb. 1622 (Rec. Off. S.P. For. Spain, Bundle 60).

*Olivares* (1587–1645) was chief minister of Philip IV. from 1621. H. gives an account of him in *Parthenopæia*, 41. The "Chonandra" of H.'s *Dodona's Grove*.

*Junta Committee*. The Junta later referred to was the Junta of Theologians appointed to settle certain theological points in the *Spanish Match*.

P. 157.] LETTER XI.—*Viscount Colchester*. See on p. 114.

*Mr. George Gage* had been sent to Rome to watch the negotiations (= "Don Jorge Gaze" of Francisco de Jesus, ed. Gardiner, C.S. 33); he took Madrid on his way from England to Rome, *ib.* 44, about Sept. 17, 1622. He occurs frequently (Rushw., i. 23, 66, 121; *Jas. I.*, ii. 219, 323, 341, 414; [H.K.] *Letters* (C.S.), 129; Spedding, vii. 429, 431; Gard., *Sp. M.* ii. 119, 236, 283.

taking



*taking of Ormus* from the Portuguese by Shah Abbas, assisted by the English fleet, 22 Apr. 1622. It is referred to in Herbert, *Travels*, 46; cf. Gard., v. 237. Digby refers to it in his letter from Madrid, Jan. 12–22, 1622–23 (Rec. Off. S.P. For. Spain, Bundle 60).

P. 158.] *Duke of Lerma* had been dismissed from the post of first minister in 1618. H. has many anecdotes of him, *infra*, 162, 184; repeated in *Parthen.*, 82, 90.  
*Duke of Useda*. Mentioned Nicholls, iii. 868, as "Ozeta."

P. 159.] 3 Feb. 1622, *i.e.*, 1623, at least five months too late.

LETTER XII.—The beginning of this letter is a very fair abstract of the actual letter sent by James by Porter, and given in *Cabala*, 1st ed. 1651, p. 238, 2nd ed. 1663, p. 259. H. must therefore have seen it at Madrid.

*Master Endymion Porter* arrived Nov. 1, 1622. Gard., *Sp. M.* 268; on him see 535 n.

*Heidelberg taken*, 9 Sept. 1622. Gard., *ib.*, ii. 247.

*Postil*. As a matter of fact it forms part of the body of the letter.

P. 160.] *sub regimine Matris*. "His Majesty will oblige himself privately that they shall be brought up *sub regimine matris* . . . until the age of nine years." From letter of Calvert in F. de Jesus, ed. Gardiner, App. p. 338, where the actual article of the treaty is given.

*first of September*. James' letter was dated Oct. 3, 1622. But see next letter, from which it appears that old Howell's letter was enclosed in one of Sir James Croft's, dated Oct. 2.

23 Feb. 1622[–23]. Again too late.

P. 161.] LETTER XIII.—*Sir Jas. Crofts*. See on p. 22.

2d of October, utterly incongruous with the date at end of letter.

*Dispatches from Rome*. These had come with Gage from Rome to England, Aug. 25. Gard., *Sp. M.* ii. 237–9.

*express from Rome*, a reference to Gage. See p. 157.

*Mr. Endymion Porter*. Gard. iv. 364–411, c. xlii., deals with "The Mission of Endymion Porter."

*the two points*. §§ 13, 14 of the Marriage Treaty (F. de Jesus, 333) deal with the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical superior, § 22 about the tutelage of the children (*ib.*, 338 and n).

P. 162.] *Don Rodrigo Calderon*. A "Relation of the death of Don. R. C." appeared in London 1622. He appears in literature, in *Gil Blas*, and in Southey's *Doctor* (H. K.). Cf. *Cabala*, i. 208.

12 March, obviously post-dated from the reference to Oct. in the body of the letter.

LETTER XIV.—*Sir Francis Cottington* (1574–1651), afterwards Lord Cottington, held the position of Secretary to Prince Charles at this time, but was not created a baronet till Feb. 16, 1623. Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 302.

P. 163.] *Surprizal of Ormus*. See *supra*, p. 157.

*now Earl of Bristol*. He was created Sept. 15, 1622.

*brought him over his patent*. How could that be, since Gondomar was recalled in May (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 220)?

*Victory at Fleurus*, near Breda, on Aug. 18 (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 227).

*Capt. Leat*. See on p. 154.

P. 164.]

P. 164.] LETTER XV.—*Sir Tho. Savage*. See on p. 132.  
*on Friday last*. March 7, 1623, Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 305; this was a Friday (F. de Jesus, p. 202). Wotton, *Life of Buckingham*, p. 89, says "Wednesday fifth of March."

*Mr. Thomas Smith*, the name under which Buckingham travelled.

*Sir Francis Cottington*. The "Sir" was now justified. See on p. 162.

*Mr. Porter*. He and Cottington had been outridden by the others. Ellis, *i Orig. Lett.* iii. 134.

P. 165.] *Sir Lewis Dives*. See on p. 428, where there is a letter to him.  
*till the king passed by*. Same account in F. de Jesus, p. 205; a different one by Meade, *cf.* Ellis; *l.c.*, 137. *Cf.* Nichols, iii. 820, who quotes H.  
*The King himself*. Meade reports the same, Ellis, *l.c.*, 135. Gardiner does not mention it.

*Sir Walter Ashton* (Aston). Frequently mentioned: Herbert, *Autob.* 232-3; Straff. *Lett.* ii. 149; Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 315-6; Nichols, *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 225 *n.* See D.N.B.

*Prado*. Still the favourite resort of the Madrid *beau monde*.

27 March 1623. This is a week too late N.S., more than a fortnight O.S., which H. would naturally use.

P. 166.] LETTER XVI.—*Sir Eubule Theolall*. See on p. 104.

*Mons. Gramond*. "The Count de Gramont at Bayonne took an exquisite notion of their persons . . . yet he let them continently pass." Wotton, *l.c.*, 89.

P. 167.] LETTER XVII.—*To Capt. Leat*. See on p. 154.

*ship Amity*. A previous reference to this, p. 156.

*release of Prisoners*. "The prisons were all opened." *i Ellis Orig. Lett.* iii. 143.

P. 168.] LETTER XVIII.—*Captain Tho. Porter*. See on p. 55.

*For outward usage*. This passage is quoted in the *Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, iv. 540, at the end of the reprint of De la Parra's *Relation of the Royal Festivities at Madrid*, 1623.

*Lope de Vega*, the celebrated dramatist (1562-1635). I cannot find any trace of this epigram elsewhere, though Gard. v. 18, mentions his participation in the festivities: translated it runs—

"Charles Stuart am I,  
 Love has guided me far,  
 To Spanish heaven I come  
 To see Maria, my star."

P. 169. *Not long since*. H. is the only authority for this interesting episode, except a reference to it by the Venetian Envoy to the Doge. Gard., *l.c.*, 346*n.* He dates it June 3/13.

*consin Archy* Armstrong, James I.'s Court Fool (see Mr. Lee's elaborate life in D.N.B.) F. de Jesus takes note of his existence at Madrid (ed. Gardiner, p. 252).

P. 170.] *Archy answered*. The same anecdote is given in *Parthen.* 27.

LETTER XIX. *Cousin Tho. Guin at Trecastle*. His genealogy is given in T. Jones' *Brecon*, pp. 622 *seq.*; a brother, Rowland, is mentioned, *infra*, p. 216. T. Gwyn married a daughter of Sir D. Williams. (Jones, *l.c.*)

P. 171.]

P. 171.] *Mr. Vaughan of the Golden Grove.* Sir W. Vaughan (1577–1640), author of *The Golden Grove*, an allegorical poem in three books, 1600. See also 4 *Arch. Camb.* xii. 274.

*Sir John Vaughan the Judge* (1608–74). Cf. Spedding, *Life*, vii. 405. The *Golden Grove* was dedicated to him.

*Lord Carlisle.* See on p. 130.

*Lord of Holland.* See on p. 116.

*Lord of Denbigh.* An incident connected with him is mentioned on p. 175.

P. 172.] *Duke of Buckingham.* He had been raised to the Dukedom in May 1623. His arrogant conduct to Olivares had much to do with breaking off the Spanish Match.

*Mr. Washington*, probably one of the Bucks family, is said to have summoned Ballard (*Gard. Sp. Match*, ii. 395).

*Ballard, an English Priest*, a Jesuit, an Oxford man (Wood, *Fasts*), cf. *Jas. I.*, i. 453, ii. 255, 295; Nichols, iii. 1026; *Gard.* v. 102. F. de Jesus (*Cam. Soc.*), 249.

*Sir Edmond Verney.* His interference in this affair is told, after H., in the *Verney Papers* (C.S.), 112–3. It created a bad impression at the time in Spain as a warrant how Roman Catholics would be treated in England.

P. 173.] *Ballads and Pasquils.* Chief among these was *Vox Populi*, reprinted in the *Phoenix Britannicus*.

*Fopperies and Plays.* One by Middleton, *A Game at Chesse*, in which Gondomar is the Black Knight. Middleton was imprisoned for it.

*Frankindale.* Frankenthal, the siege of which was broken up by Tilby, 24 Nov. 1622. It was sequestered under treaty 19 Mar. 1623.

*London-Wall.* Perhaps a reference to the Althams, who lived near there. See on p. 36.

*Tower-Hill.* Sir Thos. Savage. See on p. 132.

LETTER XXI.—*Lord Viscount Colchester.* See on p. 114.

*Walsingham Gresley.* See on p. 204.

*and House.* A line has been accidentally omitted here. Should be “and touching the Constitutions and Orders of the Contratation House of the West Indies,” &c. The Contratation House is mentioned by H., *For. Trav.*, 40, where he also mentions that “its Constitution is the greatest Mystery of the Spanish Government.” See an account in Prescott, *Chas. V.*, ii. 569; also Croker, *Bassompierre*, 14. Hakluyt, iii. last page.

P. 174.] *Junta.* Frequently mentioned in F. de Jesus as the Giunta (Committee) of Theologians. It was summoned to determine on what terms Philip could take the oath, *ib.* 233. See also on p. 156.

*Bishop of Segovia.* I cannot find any reference to this incident in the authorities.

*the foot with goads.* Known as *Banderilleros*. These bull-fights were probably of the kind known as *Reales*, by high-born amateurs on valuable horses, instead of by professional toreadors on blindfolded knackers. This passage is quoted in Nichol's *Progresses of Jas. I.*, to illustrate a contemporary pamphlet describing the bullfights.

P. 175.] *Taking a pipe of Tobacco.* This incident does not appear in any of the ordinary authorities.

LETTER XXII.—*Sir Jas. Crofts.* See on p. 22.

*From Turkey a letter this week.* Seemingly a year *post eventum*.

*Sultan Osman, the Grand Turk.* Othman II. (1610–1622).

P. 176.] *late ill success.* His repulse by the Poles at Choczin, Oct. 1621.

*Beglerbeg.* A title corresponding to Marquis, according to Herbert, *Travels*, 171; literally “Lord of Lords,” according to the same authority, *l.c.* 129.

P. 177.]

P. 177.] *Mustapha I.* Othman succeeded him 26 Feb. 1618, but he was reinstated in 1622, as here related.

P. 178.] *capi-Aga.* Aga is "the next under a Bassa" (Pasha), says Sir K. Digby : Hakluyt ii. 293, gives "Capi-aga, High Porter."

P. 179.] *cauph houses*, also spelt *cauphe*, p. 452. On the introduction of coffee into England, see note on p. 662.

*mufiti*, spelt *mufiti* in *For. Tr.*, 85 : "The Mufiti who is their chiefest Bishop."

*Sir Tho. Roe* (+1644), referred to, Herbert, *Autob.* 25 and *n.* ; Fairfax, i. 322 ; B. Jonson, *Works*, Epigr. cxxiii. His correspondence while at Constantinople has been published. A letter from him on this very subject is quoted in Nimmo's *British Letter-Writers*.

P. 180.] *Mr. Camden.* His *Annals of Elizabeth* is referred to here.

LETTER XXIII.—*Sir T. Savage.* See on p. 132.

P. 181.] *Pope Gregory was dead.* Gregory XV. died 8 July 1623. *Pope Urban VIII.* succeeded 6 Aug. 1623. His election is referred to in *F. de Jesus*, p. 251.

*Proxy.* This was actually made out in the names of the King and the Infante Carlos. Gard., *Sp. M.* ii. 406.

P. 182.] LETTER XXIV.—*Capt. Nich. Leat.* See on p. 154. *his brother.* *Sir James Alltham, i.e.*, his half-brother. See on p. 34. *Wagers 30 to 1.* Bristol wagered a ring worth £1000 that Charles would spend the Christmas of 1623 in Madrid. Gard., *Sp. M.*, ii. 406.

P. 183.] LETTER XXV.—*Sir Jas. Crofts.* See on p. 22. *Escorial.* For a description see p. 207, and *cf. For. Tr.* 71.

P. 184.] *Dizen me.* Sp.—"They tell me you are dying of grief ; as for me, I fear my years more than my enemies."

*Sir Sackvil Trever.* On him see Nichol's *Prog. James I.*, i. 440 *n.*

LETTER XXVI.—*To my Brother.* See on p. 25.

*Mr. Wadsworth*, author of *The English Spanish Pilgrime*, 1629, and often mentioned as a Jesuit in the memoirs of the time (Nichols, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 734 ; D'Israeli, *Chas. I.*, i. 36 ; Walton's *Lives*, 143). Howell denounced his son later as a spy. See p. 649.

*Father Boniface.* The Infanta certainly did take English lessons (Gard., *Sp. M.* ii. 417).

*Sir Walter Ashton.* See on p. 165, and *infra*, p. 190.

P. 185.] *Mr. Clerk* brought a letter from Charles delaying the marriage by proxy, even if the dispensation should come from Rome (Gard., v. 121 *n.*). Charles complained of Clerk for having no power over his arm. Clarend., *Hist.* i. § 141. He is also mentioned, Spedding, *Life*, vii. 425 ; Gard., vi. 160.

*St. Mark, i.e.*, of course, Venice.

*embrace a cloud*, a reference to the legend of Ixion.

*Sir John Franklin.* See on p. 114.

*Sir John Smith*, to whom the first letter of the *Epistolæ*, 2nd edition, is directed.

*at the Hill and Dale.* Tower Hill, see p. 132 ; but what Dale ?

P. 186.]

P. 186.] LETTER XXVII.—*Sir John North*. See on p. 54.

*Mr. Clerk*. See on p. 185. In the Conway Papers at the Record Office it is mentioned that Clerk arrived from Spain 26th July, and was dispatched thither again, 10th August.

P. 187.] *Mr. Killigree* arrived with despatches, Nov. 26, only three days before the wedding was to have taken place by proxy. Killigree was the well-known Sir R. Killigrew; on him see p. 500.  
*watched velvet*, should be *watchet* as in ED. PR.

P. 188.] *contratation-house*. See on p. 173.

*Lord Paget*. The first Baron, Sir W. Paget, K.G., created in Edward VI.'s reign.

25 Aug. 1623. As Killigrew arrived at the end of November this date is too early.

P. 189.] LETTER XXVIII.—*Lord Clifford*. Henry Clifford, son of the Earl of Cumberland, was not summoned as a Baron till 3 Car. I., so that the title is premature.

*took a ring*, mentioned by Gard., *Sp. M.*, ii. 458. This occurred Jan. 28, 1623.

*Feather beds*, a very early instance of tarring and feathering. A still earlier one in Archer, *Crusade of Richard I.*

P. 190.] LETTER XXIX.—*Sir John North*. See on p. 55.

*Mr. Vaughan*, H.'s "cousin," see on p. 219. Sir John Vaughan (? his father) was also at Madrid, p. 171 and n.

*Lord Aston* was only Sir Walter at this time. See Gard.

*Marquis of Inojosa*. For this accusation of the Spanish Ambassador against Buckingham in the spring of 1624, see Gard. v. 188, 207, 226, 228, 244, 268. H. refers to it in other works: *Parthen*, 37, 193; *Finetti*, 193, 243. Nichols, iii. 972, quotes H.'s as the best account.

P. 191.] *Lord Conway*. See on p. 240.

26 Aug. 1623. Inojosa's accusation was made in April 1624 (Gard., v. 226).

P. 192.] LETTER XXX.—Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), philosopher, traveller, and inventor of the "sympathetic powder;" see Mr. Lee in D.N.B. *Three Souls*. The usual Aristotelian view.

*Trigonus in Tetragono*. Lit. "a triangle in a quadrangle," but in all probability a reference to the three souls of man inclosed in the four elements of his body.

*Ex traduce*. Probably a reminiscence of Prudentius, *Apoth.*, 983, according to Dr. Gow. But H. would probably know Sir Kenelm Digby's *Annotations on the Religio Medici*, 1642, one of whose sections is "Soul not *ex traduce*." Cf. also H.'s *Therologia*, 140-1.

P. 193.] *Mr. Thomas Cary*, related to Sir R. Cary, to whom H. has a letter, *infra*, p. 574. Probably the Tom Ca. of pp. 403, 627, where see.

*snatch'd from you*. This is a natural touch which seems to vouch for the authenticity of the present letter.

P. 194.] LETTER XXXI.—*Cousin Mr. J. Price*. There is a Price referred to in Herber's *Autob.*, ed. Lee, p. 95, who may have been H.'s "cousin:" there are other letters to him, pp. 378, 404, 411. The cousinship probably consisted in the fact that H.'s sister Rebecca married Mr. John Price of Richardston, our present Price's father (see Pedigree).

one

one late audience, that in which the Earl had to postpone the marriage by proxy on Nov. 26, 1623.

P. 195.] LETTER XXXII.—*Viscount Colchester*. See on p. 114. *short survey*, possibly derived from Wadsworth's, which appeared in 1630.

P. 196.] *Don Julian*. W. S. Landor made a fine drama out of this subject.

P. 197.] *Biscayners have much analogy*. H. says much the same, *For. Tr.*, 50; cf. *infra*, p. 473.

*Inquisitors*. One of the chief works of the Inquisition was the inquiry into *Limpieza de sangre*, i.e., purity of descent.

*The King*. Cf. *Don Quixote*, II. c. xlviii, "as good a gentleman as the king himself, for he was a mountaineer."

*Chico*. Bobadil, the last king of Granada, was so-called.

P. 198.] *the first proffer*. The story being that Columbus came over to England to offer to go to the Indies by the west route on behalf of England. *Sun shines*. Curious to see the phrase now used of the Queen's dominions used of the Spanish monarch's, as here and in *Therologia*, 83.

P. 199.] *Village of Madrid*, i.e., not a city because not the seat of a bishopric. The choice of Madrid for a court residence has had disastrous results for Spain.

15,000 students. Ford says only 5000 in the sixteenth century (*Handbook*, s. v.)

P. 200.] *Spanish Legend*. I have never come across this anywhere but in H. Lurks. Borrow, in his *Bible in Spain*, has several mysterious references to traces of secret Jews he had found in the Peninsula. Borrow was very imaginative.

P. 201.] *Goatish race*. A punning reference to the descent of the Spanish nobility from the Visigoths.

*Primera*. For an account of this game see Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, ed. Ellis, ii. 266; also Earle, *Microsm.*, ed. Bliss, pp. 35-7.

P. 202.] *All the cards*. Spanish cards have still "Real Fabrica" on them. Cf. Willshire, *Descr. Cot. Play-Cards in Brit. Mus.* 102.

P. 203.] *A compleat woman*. From Moryson, *Itin.* iii. 49.

P. 204.] 1 Feb. 1623, i.e., 1624, which might be a not unsuitable date.

LETTER XXXIII.—*Mr. Walsingham 'Gresley*, frequently referred to: Nichols, iii. 896, 902; *Jas. II.*, ii. 321, 444; Gard., v. g. On his name see Nichols' *Herald*, viii. 221. His capture by Algerian pirates is mentioned *supra*, 152, 162. He died 1633, ætat. 48 (Nichols, *l.c.*).

*Sir Ferdinando Cary*, was not knighted till 6th Feb. 1629 (Metcalfé, 196), so that this is another case of premature title.

*Our Friends in Bishopsgate Street*, the Althams. See note on p. 38.

P. 205.] LETTER XXXIV.—*Sir Robert Napier*. Referred to already, 151, as being connected with the "Vineyard" affair. Aubrey has a long account of him, *Misc.*, 90, 159-61. A life of him in Anthony à Wood.

*Letters of Mart*, i.e., threats that English privateers would harass Spanish trade if satisfaction were not made for the loss of the "Vineyard."

P. 206.] LETTER XXXV.—*Mr. A. S.* I have no suggestion to make as to the identity of A. S.

*Couvrez-feu Bell*. The old folk-etymology for curfew.

*Besamanos*. Sp. "Kiss the hands," salutations.

P. 207.] LETTER XXXVI.—*Sir T. S.* Probably Sir Thomas Savage, who lived on Tower Hill, *supra*, p. 132.

*Escorial*.

*Escorial*. H. refers to this as one of the wonders of the world in *For. Tr.* p. 71. *St. Quintin*. Where French were defeated by the Spaniards, 1557. *Vault called the Pantheon*. The kings of Spain are still buried there.

P. 208.] LETTER XXXVII.—*Viscount Colchester*. See on p. 114. *Duke of Ossuna* or *Ossone* (1579–26, Sept. 1624). Viceroy of Sicily, 1610; Viceroy of Naples, 1616–20; recalled because he refused to establish the Inquisition in Naples. § xiv. of H.'s *Farthenoparia*, is "Of the Duke of Orsuna," at the end of which is a list of the accusations brought against him by the Neapolitans, including those mentioned on the next page.

P. 209.] *witty passage* is repeated in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Jests*. *Tutele of the Jesuits*. The same story is told in *The Italian anatomised by an English Chirurgeon*, 1660, p. 25 (C.H.F.)

P. 210.] 13 Mar. 1623, *i.e.*, 1624. Hardly, if the Duke died 26 Sept. 1624.

LETTER XXXVIII.—*Simon Digby*. See on p. 156.

*Cryptology*. Misprint for *Cryptology* of ED. PR.

A. Gellius. *Noct. Att. lib. xvii.*, c. ix. "De notis litterarum quæ in C. Cæsaris epistolis reperiuntur deque aliis clandestinis litteris."

LETTER XXXIX.—*Sir Jas. Crofts*. See on p. 22.

*His Majesty's Jewels*. Among the *S. P.* there is one dated 1 Nov. 1624. "Note of jewels lately brought from Spain." In Ellis' *Orig. Lett.* are many references to them. Cf., too, *Archæologia*, xxi. 148–57; and Nichols, *l.c.*, iii. 832–3.

P. 211.] *Mr. Wiches*. Afterwards Sir Peter Wych. See on p. 254.

*Alforjas*, Sp. saddlebags or portmanteau.

*Sir Tho. Fairfax*, probably the grandfather of the general.

*Lodging Void*, this is a natural touch that seems to vouch for the authenticity of the present letter, especially when combined with the reference at the beginning to the gentleman who was to carry it to London.

6 Sept. 1624. Judging from the reference in the *S. P.*, this seems a suitable month for the journey. But see the reference to the death of Ossuna, *i.e.*, 26 Sept. on p. 208; and to Charles' fall on p. 212.

#### SECTION IV.

This section contains an account of H.'s search for employment on his return from Spain. At last he gets comfortably settled at York.

P. 212.] *Prince's Jewels*. See on p. 210.

*Capt. Love*. Mentioned *Powysl. Coll.* xx. 132; Masson, *Life*, ii. 519. In *Conway Papers*, 1623 (Rec. Off. S.P. For. Spain, Bundle 60), under date April 25th, I came across the entry "Capt. Love went in ye Antelope."

*fall off a Horse* occurred Oct. 1623. Nichols, iii. 848.

*Treaties both of Match and Palatinate*. The former, the agreement as to the Spanish Match, is given at the end of F. de Jesus' treatise, ed. Gardiner for Camd. Soc.

*chain of pearl*. "A goodly roape of pearles," James wrote to his "sweete Boyes," Nich. iii. 833.

*good business of it*. He was to have made £3000. See *supra*, p. 193.

P. 213.] LETTER II.—*R. Brown*. See on p. 78.

*Field in Sicily*, another reference to H.'s being in Sicily. See *supra*, p. 62.

P. 214.] *Blackfriars*, the theatre in which Shakespeare had a share: it had been built by Burbage.

Cock

*Cock Pit.* Pepys often refers to new plays produced here. It was in Drury Lane, and was likewise termed the Phoenix.

LETTER III.—*Viscount Colchester.* See on p. 114.

*Venetian Gazette.* See on p. 150.

*Count Mansfeld* was "brought to lodge in St. James's, in rooms near the Palace," *S. P.* 19 Apr. 1624, "in the very chamber intended for the Infanta," *ib.* 24 Apr. Cf. *Gard.* v. 265. He sailed for Boulogne before April 30, 1624.

P. 215.] *Hollander.* The Dutch had captured Pernambuco. D'Ewes, *Autob.* ii. 3; a further reference to this *infra*, p. 258.

*scandalous information.* See *supra*, p. 190. Inojosa was ultimately released and freed from the charge of bringing false accusation against Buckingham. (*Gard.* v. 268).

5 Feb. 1624, *i.e.*, 1625, nearly a year too late. But on any showing H. was in Spain when Mansfeld was in London.

P. 216.] LETTER IV.—*Mr. Rowland Gwin*, a brother of Thomas Gwyn of Trecastle, on whom see p. 170. It is difficult to understand H. making up a letter of this kind or the other two following unless he had them in hand.

LETTER V.—*Thomas Jones*, perhaps a relation of H.'s college chum, Christopher Jones, for whom see p. 60.

*Cillibub* or syllabub, a concoction of crushed apples and cream, if I remember right.

LETTER VI.—*To D. C.* David Caldwell. See on p. 27.

LETTER VII.—*Father.* See on p. 19. This letter is given by Scoones *English Letters*, No. lv. p. 73.

*Thomas Gwin of Trecastle.* See p. 170.

*Sunday fortnight.* "27 March [1625], about noone King James died and King Charles was instantly proclaimed at Theobalds and the same afternoon at London," Conway's *Letter Bk.* Cf. D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 163. Laud was preaching that Sunday at Whitehall (*Nich.* iii. 1034; *Masson Life*, i. 321). *Sir Edw. Zouch* died in 1634, *Strafford Letters*, i. 265.

P. 217.] *Countess of Buckingham*, the Duke's mother. Much suspicion was aroused by her action in this matter. See *Gard.* Among others D. G. Eglisam wrote a pamphlet, *Prodromus Vindictæ in Ducem Buckinghami pro virulenta cade Regis Iacobi*, 1626 (C.H.F.), the English version of which, *The Fore-Runner of Revenge*, is thought by Wotton to have led to Felton's deed: it is given in *Somers Tracts*, edit. Scott, v. 437 *seq.* The suspicions were referred to by Elliot in his attack on Buckingham. Cf. *Hutchinson, Life*, ed. Firth, i. 119 n.

*Sister without a Country*, the "Queen of Hearts," the Princess Elizabeth, whose husband the Palsgrave had lost the Palatinate. All this, however, sounds like a *ratiocinium post euentum*.

P. 218.] *The Plague* broke out in June 1625. Its ravages are frequently mentioned, *Lives of Ferrar*, 23, 220; D'Ewes' *Autob.* i. 275-8; P. Warwick, 11; Spedding, *Life of Bacon*, vii. 530 *seq.*; Sir T. Roe, *Neg.* 459; *Court of Chas. I.*, i. 32; *Gard. England under Buckingham*, i. 189, 222; Forster, *Eliot*, i. 214, 221, 227, 254, &c. A full account in Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics in England*, vol. i.

*at the Cape of Good Hope.* A favourite phrase of H.'s. See Suppt., p. 259.

Brother



*Brother and Sisters at the Bryn.* Probably Cefn-Bryn, co. Brecknock. This is a point in favour of H.'s being a Brecknockshire man. But the reference may be equally to Bryn-a-Minin, co. Carmarthen, where one of H.'s brothers, Howel Howel, lived. See *S.P.*, 3 Sept. 1640.

LETTER VIII.—*De Prichard.* See on p. 31. (*ne gry quidem*). Properly "ne γρὸ quidem," "not worth a grain." The expression is taken from Plautus.

*Lord Chancellor Bacon* died 9 April 1626 (*Spedding, Life*, vii. 551).

P. 219.] *Pitiful letter to K. James*, doubtless that given in *Spedding, Life*, vii. 382–6, which does conclude with the words quoted by Howell, "Help . . . study to live." This letter was published in *Cabala*, 1654; *Baconiana*, 1674; and in Sir Toby Matthew's *Collection* (*Spedding, l.c.*, p. 381); but was never actually delivered.

*last Lord Chancellor.* Sounds like a *vaticinium post eventum*; up to 1645 the seal was used by the Lord Keeper or was in commission, but there was no actual Lord High Chancellor till Clarendon at the Restoration (*Haydn, Dignities*, 104).

6 Jan. 1625, *i.e.*, 1626. Inconsistent with the reference to Bacon's death.

LETTER IX.—*Mr. T. V.* Thomas Vaughan referred to in Herbert's *Autob.*, ed. Lee, p. 28 and *n.* Cf. with this letter the one on marriage prefixed to the *Lexicon Tetragl.*, and reprinted in *Suppt.*, p. 665.

*Socrates.* This story is also given in Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, III. ii. 1. It is repeated again, *infra*, 568.

P. 220.] *C. B.*, probably Coke, whose quarrels with Lady Hatton are referred to above, p. 148, and Bacon, who was grievously offended with his Lady at the end of his life, Wilson, p. 159; *Spedding, Life*, vii. 539.

*Stroud our cook.* The same story is told again in the same words, *infra*, p. 568. *English Proverb.* Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *Proverbs*, 385.

P. 221.] LETTER X.—*Lord Clifford.* Henry, son of the fourth Earl of Cumberland (Nicolas, *Hist. Peerage*, 113). See on p. 189.

*From Holland*, where he had been to negotiate an alliance against Spain. He returned Dec. 1625. Gard. v. 37.

*Prince Frederick Henry*, a youth of much promise. Mrs. Green, *Princesses*, v. 469.

*Inland Slough.* Should be "Inland Lough," as in ED. PR.

*Bank of Money.* For this see the classic treatment of Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*.

P. 222.] *Vessel turned over.* Came in contact with another boat (Green, *l.c.*). "Jan. 14, 1629, Newes brought of the Palsegrave's eldest soon drowned in Herleem Meer in Holland" (R. Smyth, *Obituary*, Cam. Soc., p. 4).

*A sad destiny!* He died on Jan. 17, 1629 (Green, *l.c.*), three years after the supposed date of this letter.

*The Match with Henrietta Maria.* She was already married by June 13, 1625.

*Cushionet.* See note on this word, 5 N. & Q. viii. 118; it is a diminutive of "cushion," and is actually spelt "cushionet" in *Lust. Ludov.* 66, where this story is given. Cf. *Poet. Misc.* (Percy Soc.), p. 7, and *Harl. Misc.* viii. 399.

*Cardinal de Richlieu.* He had been made Cardinal in Sept. 1622.

*He died on the journey* in 1625.

*Bunnol.*

*Bunnol*, sic. in ED. PR., should be Bommel in Guelderland. See Rimbault in *Overbury's Works*, p. 311.

P. 223.] *Mountauban*, unsuccessfully besieged by Louis XIII. 17 Aug.—17 Nov. 1621.

*Mr. Ellis Hicks*. A fuller discussion of this action of Hicks is given *infra*, 614-6.

*Parliament*. The summonses were issued by Williams on Dec. 16, 1625. Gard. v. 37. D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 275, gives 11th July as the date.

*some employment*. On his own showing he had been doing nothing since the return from Spain till the end of the year 1625, about eighteen months.

*The Plague*. See *supra*, p. 218. From Dec. 16, 1624, to Dec. 15, 1625, the Bill of Mortality for London was 54,265, of which 35,417 was from the plague (*S. P.* 15 Dec. 1625).

25 Feb. 1625, i.e., 1626. There is a wretched jumble here of events of the beginning of 1625 (French Match), the end of 1625 (Buckingham from Holland), and the beginning of 1629! (drowning of Prince Frederick). ✓

LETTER XI.—*Rich. Altham*. See on p. 33.

P. 225.] LETTER XII.—*Lord of Carlingford at Golden Grove*. Sir John Vaughan of the Golden Grove, co. Carmarthen, created an Irish Peer 18 Jas I., and Earl of Carberry by Charles I. See *supra*, p. 171.

28 May, 1625; this is thus dated in ED. PR. This must be N.S., as in the body of the letter reference is made to the marriage (by proxy) taking place on the 11th of this month, which was 1 May (Gard., *Engl.* i. 175).

*Queen Margaret of Valois*, who was Roman Catholic at the time of her marriage with the Protestant Henry of Navarre.

*King of France*. The full treaty of marriage in 18 clauses is given by H. in *Lust. Lud.*, 64-6, and by Croker, *Bassompierre*, Append. II., dated 10th Nov. 1625.

P. 226.] *Family*. This is a technical word meaning "household." See p. 234. *eighth Alliance*. H. afterwards wrote an account of all the Royal Marriages.

See Bibl. List, No. 63, *Royal Matches*. He gives a list of the eight between France and England in *Lust. Lud.* 67. They were Chas. I. (900) and Louis XII. of France, and Hen. III. and V., Ed. I. and II., Rich. II., and Chas. I. of England.

LETTER XIII.—*Sir Thomas Sa*. Sir Thomas Savage. See on p. 132.

P. 227.] *Monsieur*. The story is told with more circumstances in *Lust. Lud.* 73.

*deep Plot*. H. refers to this in the *Lust. Lud.* 73, but adds—"But I beleieve this was a groundlesse surmise."

LETTER XIV.—*Marchioness of Winchester*, daughter of Sir Thomas Savage, who doubtless recommended H. to her. She is mentioned Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 189 n. She was honoured by an epitaph composed by Milton, as well as with one by Ben Jonson (*Masson, Life*, i. 211). Collins, *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, ii. 380, quotes Howell's encomium of her.

P. 228.] LETTER XV.—*Lord Clifford*. See on p. 189.

Town

*Town of Breda*, on May 26 (5 Jun.) 1625. Gard., *Engl. under Buck.* i. 186.  
*Lord of Southampton*, Henry Wriothesley, to whom Shakespeare dedicated the first heir of his invention: he died in 1624.  
*Earl Henry of Oxford*, died 1626 according to Nicholas, *Hist. Peerage*, 370.  
 He is mentioned Nicholl's *Progr. Jas. I.*, ii. xii. n., iii. 947 n.  
*Grave Maurice's*, Prince of Orange (1667–1625), who caused John of Barneveldt to be executed: he died at the Hague 23 April 1625.

P. 229.] *Grave Henry*, generally known as Frederick Henry, who ruled 1625–47.  
*Sir Edward Vere* was killed at the siege of Bois-le-Duc, 1629, Markham, *Fighting Veres*, p. 438 (C.H.F.).  
*Sir Charles Morgan*, mentioned in Herbert, *Autob.*, ed. Lee, pp. 143 and 330. He was afterwards sent to the assistance of Christian IV. of Denmark.  
 19 March 1625. At least three months too early for a reference to the fall of Breda.

P. 230.] LETTER XVI.—*Mr. R. Sc.*, probably one of the Scroops, related to the Earl of Sunderland.  
*Second Arrow.* Cf. Longfellow's song, "I sent an arrow into the air."

LETTER XVII.—*Dr. Field, Bishop of Landaff.* Theophilus Field (†1636), Bishop of Llandaff 1619, translated to St. David's 12 July 1627, and to Henford 1635. (Wood, *Athene*; Nicholas, *Hist. Peer.*)  
*Mr. Jonathan Field*, probably a relative of the Bishop's. H. has a letter to Mr. E. Field, *infra*, p. 585.  
*Wimbledon's Fleet*, which had unsuccessfully attacked Cadiz: it started for home 16 Nov. 1625. (Gard., *Eng. under Buck.* i. 324.) Wimbledon's own account of the expedition was published in 1626.

P. 231.] *Ships without Gallies.* In contrast with the Spanish Armada, where there were both.  
*High-Admiral, i.e.*, Buckingham himself. See p. 233.  
*St. Mary Port*, in Cadiz Bay, Gard. vi. 15.  
*Cales, i.e.*, Cadiz.  
*Council of War.* See Gard., *Id.*, i. 325.  
*Mercurius Gallobelgicus.* Practically the first newspaper. The files from 1588 to 1594 were published at Cologne in 1598. Cf. Overbury, *Works*, ed. Rimbault, p. 101, and note p. 294.  
*Capt. Love.* Sir Thomas, mentioned by Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 519, *Powysl. Coll.* xx. 132, Gard. vi. 14, and frequently in the *S.P.*, 1625–6.  
*Fort of Puntall.* Cf. Gard. vi. 20.

P. 232.] *Lord de la Ware's*, the fourth Baron, ob. 1628.  
*Lord of St. David's.* Laud, who was elected 1621, and translated to Bath and Wells 18 Sept. 1626. Field succeeded him in the last, 12 July 1627.  
 20 Nov. 1626. Here, again, we have two incongruous dates in the same letter. Wimbledon's fleet returned in the winter of 1625, Laud was translated to Bath and Wells in Sept. 1626. It is true H. speaks only of the rumour about the translation.

LETTER XVIII.—*Lord D. of Buckingham*, the celebrated favourite of Jas. I. and Chas. I. For a description of his death see *infra*, p. 253.  
*fortunate* should be *infortunate* as in ED. PR.

P. 233.] *last was boistrous.* Charles's first Parliament.

P. 234.]

P. 234.] *Mansion house and Family*, the latter used here, as on pp. 184, 226, for an established household. D'Ewes uses the word for the Queen's servants, *Autob.* ii. 171-2.

*late unfortunate Earl.* Essex, of course.

LETTER XIX.—*Sir J. S.* Probably the Sir John Smith of the first letter of the collection.

P. 235.] LETTER XX.—*Earl R.*, probably Earl Rivers. The Viscount Colchester was created Earl Rivers 4 Nov. 1626. See on p. 101. But see next letter.

*Count Mansfelt is in Paris.* He died in Bosnia in Nov. 1626, after having been defeated by Wallenstein at Dessau in the April of that year.

P. 236.] *Bethlen Gabor*, should be Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, Prince Rupert's godfather (Warburton, i. 32). He is frequently referred to in Sir T. Roe's *Negotiations*, 1740 (*cf.* D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 144; Croker, *Bass.* 50; Rushw., ii. 29; *James I.*, ii. 434; Sir D. Carleton, *Dispatches*, *pass.*).

*Sir Ch. Morgan* was commander at Breda, *supra*, p. 229; on him see Herbert, *Autob.*, ed. Lee, p. 143 and *n.*, and 330. "They should have numbered 6000 men, but their commander, Sir Chas. Morgan, reported on April [7, 1626], that only 2472 answered to their names." Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 124.

*adjourn'd to Oxford* till 1st Aug. 1625. Gard., *l.c.*, i. 231.

*clashing*, referring apparently to the reciprocal charges of high treason between the two nobles, brought before the House of Peers in April-May, 1626 (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 42-6). See also Fairfax, *Letters*, i. 42-7.

*putting his Majesty*, really of conspiring with Gondomar to get Charles to Spain. (Gard., *Eng. under Buck.* ii. 44).

*Lord Conway.* See Gard., *l.c.*

15 Mar. 1626. Here again we have a curious mixture of dates. A reference to Sir Chas. Morgan and to the quarrels of Bristol and Buckingham refer to the spring of 1626; the adjournment of Parliament to Oxford was for the August of the preceding year.

LETTER XXI.—Lord Viscount C. Probably Colchester; but see preceding letter, *ad init.*

*Sir John North.* See on p. 54.

P. 237.] *a very splendid Equipage.* "On the 14th of May [O.S. 1625] Buckingham arrived in Paris. To the world in general he seemed to have set his soul on displaying his handsome person and his jewelled attire at the court festivities." Gard., *l.c.*, i. 180. Prof. Gardiner discredits the story of his having purposely lost precious stones from his costumes as he danced.

LETTER XXII.—*Mr. Hugh Penry.* See on p. 129.  
*jealous*, should be *jealousies* as in ED. PR.

P. 238.] *big-lipp'd.* See note on 155.

*Canterbury.* Both D'Ewes, i. 271, and P. Warwick, 6, give the same information: a touch like this could scarcely be introduced long *post eventum*.

*Dyvinnock* in Brecon, a point in favour of H. being a Brecknock man; but see *Introd.* p. xxiii.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.—*Uncle Sir Sackville Trevor*, mentioned previously, 184. He is mentioned, Nicholl's *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 440 n. How he was H.'s uncle is unknown to me, though he was certainly of Welsh descent, being included in the Welsh pedigrees contained in Harl. MS. 4181, f. 281. He married one of the Savages.

*Sir John Elliot*. This incident is referred to in Forster's *Life*, 2nd ed., i. 260. It was while the chairman was reading that Black Rod appeared. June 1625.

P. 239.] *D. of Buckingham*. The High Speech is given in Gard., *Hist.* vi. 103-7; Forster, *Life*,<sup>2</sup> i. 324-30. It was delivered May 10, 1626.

*My Lord Keeper Williams* parted with the seal 25 Oct. 1626.

*Sir Thomas Coventry* (1578-1640); he had been Recorder of London and Solicitor-General. His succeeding Williams is mentioned by D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 280. Cf. *Fairfax Papers*, i. 23.

*the Sickness*. See *supra*, p. 218.

Oxford, 6 Aug. 1626. "The letter," says Forster, *Life of Elliot*,<sup>2</sup> i. 260 n., "is an evident compilation from one or two letters of widely different dates, and the main incident refers rather to the second parliament, dissolved in June 1626, than to this Oxford parliament closed in August 1625."

LETTER XXIV.—*too much Digbified*, i.e., too much in favour of the Earl of Bristol, Buckingham's great opponent. Several letters to him are in the present collection, see p. 277.

*Mr. Secretary Conway*. See on p. 240.

*moving agent*, a polite term for a spy, as can be seen from the third particular, mentioned in the succeeding letter.

P. 240.] *The Sickness*. The highest number noted by Sir S. D'Ewes in his *Autob.* is 4463 in the week Aug. 11-18, 1625.

*Sir John Walter*, referred to also on p. 105 as counsel for H.'s father. He had been Attorney-General, and became afterwards Chief Baron (Gard. vii. 112.)

LETTER XXV.—*Lord Conway* (ob. 1630) was created Viscount Killutagh 15 Mar 1626, and Viscount Conway 26 June 1627 (D.N.B.).

P. 241.] *the danger*. This shows the nature of the employment, which must have been practically that of spy.

*I am a Cautel*. Compare H.'s account of himself, p. 373, at top.

£100 a Quarter. In *For. Tr.* 26, H. calculates the minimum personal expenses of a traveller at £300 per annum, besides £50 for each servant. His charge could not be considered exorbitant.

8 Sept. 1626. At this time Lord Conway was Viscount Killutagh. See note above.

LETTER XXVI.—*Dr. Howell*. See on p. 25.

*Lord Conway demurr'd*. See preceding letter.

P. 242.] *Lord Scroop*, *Lord President of the North*, afterwards Earl of Sunderland. See p. 251.

*Worcester house*, where Dr. Prichard was (see *supra*, p. 131), who probably recommended H.

*Your house in Horsley*. West Horsley, co. Surrey, of which Dr. Howell was rector.

*Cashier'd this week*, on July 31, O.S. 1626 (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 90-2). It is frequently mentioned in the Memoirs, D'Ewes' *Autob.* ii. 189, *Lustra Lud.* 75-6, Croker's

Croker's *Bassompierre*, p. 1. Roe's *Negot.*, Letters cdiii. cdiv. Whitelock *Mem.* 8. E. Law, *Hampton Court*, II. c. ix., "Dismissal of French suite." Sir Thomas Edmonds. Mentioned in Herbert's *Autob.* 106, 208. Cf. Nichols, i. 156 n.; Fairfax, i. 184. *Master Montague*. Gardiner says Carleton was sent beforehand to mollify the French King's wrath.

P. 243.] LETTER XXVII.—*Lord S.* can scarcely be Lord Scroop, as *he* would know of H.'s going to York. Perhaps it is meant for Viscount Savage. Sir Charles Morgan. See *supra*, p. 229. *Stoad*, now Stade. It was surrendered April 27, 1628 (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 269). A reference to it in Sir T. Roe's *Negotiations*, 731. *Tilly pursueth his victory*. Probably that over Christian IV. of Denmark at Lutter, 17 Aug. 1626. The news reached England 12 Sept. (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 94). *Privy Seals for Loan monies*. An established method of raising money, but it raised great objections (Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 98, 105).

P. 244.] LETTER XXVIII.—*R. L.*, probably Richard Leat. See p. 248. *J. Harris*. Perhaps related to the T. Harris of p. 644.

P. 246.] *en querpo*, in doublet and breeches without cloak. Scott uses the expression in *Fortunes of Nigel*, and cf. Ferrar's *Lives*, 197, and Prof. Mayor's note. Sir John Ayres. This incident is mentioned in Sir T. Roe's *Negotiations*, i. 54. *Chequins*=sequins. Coryat, *Crudities*, ii. 21, gives a full account of this coin.

#### SECTION V.

This deals with H.'s sojourn at York, his election as M.P., and his wanderings while he held his post at York. It ranges between the years 1626 and May 1629.

P. 247.] LETTER I.—*Dan Caldwell from York*. See on p. 27. *Smug the Smith*. "The Merry Jest of Smugge the Smythe and Mine Host of the George" is the title of a seventeenth century jest book given by Lowndes s.v. *Jests*. It does not follow that Smug was an imaginary person. no more than Tarlton, Scoggin, or Peele, under whose names jest books were published. See also Hazlitt, *Handbook*, s.v. Brewer. *Still-yard* or steelyard, in Upper Thames St., the home of the Hanseatic League in London. See Pauli's *Pictures from Old England*; F. Martin. *Hist. of Lloyd*, c. 1.

P. 248.] LETTER II.—*Mr. Richard Leat*, doubtless a relation of Captain Leat, on whom see p. 154. Sir Arthur Ingram. See on p. 268. *the Sydonian Merchant, J. Bruckhurst*. Probably Edmund Brockhurst of Oriel, who matriculated 1610, the same year as H. (Forster *Alumni Oxon.* i. 185). But why Sydonian I know not. Lord Weston. See on p. 130. He became Lord Treasurer in 1628, and afterwards became Earl of Portland. *Treasurers of all tenses*. Manchester, mentioned above as Sir H. Montagu; Middlesex, (Cranfield), and Marlborough, (Sir James Ley), all three earls. Marlborough. See Life in Campbell, *Chief Justices*, i. 362-9. He was "the old

old man eloquent" of Milton's Sonnet to his daughter. If he was as "eloquent" as he was "unstained in gold and fee," he must have been tongue-tied.

*Venetian Gazette*. See *supra*, p. 150.

P. 249.] LETTER III.—*Sir Ed. Sa. Savage*, one of H.'s old pupils, and son of Earl Rivers. He was knighted in 1625.

at *Bordeaux*. See Gard. vi. 147.

*Writs issued out for a Parliament*. The third of Charles's reign.

*made choice of me*. See note on next letter.

*Master Christopher Wandesford*, frequently mentioned in the early part of *Strafford's Letters*; also in Forster, *Elliot*, i. 289, &c. He got a seat for Thirsk. Forster, *l.c.*, i. 423. He was an adherent of Wentworth's.

that would not conform to *Loan monies*. See *supra*, 243. H. was one of the court party for whom *Loan monies* were causing trouble.

2 March 1627. Cf. date given to next letter. As a matter of fact H. was returned 11 Mar. 1627–8 (*Names of Members of Parl.* i. 479).

P. 250.] LETTER IV.—*Town of Richmond*, co. York. Forster attributes H.'s success against Wandesford as due to the influence of Scrope. *Elliot*, ii. 422.

*Sir Talbot Bows*, mentioned Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 275 n. He was of Streatham, co. Durham.

*Colleague*. H. and Bows were elected 11 March 1628 (see *Names*, &c.).

24 Mar. 1627. Nearly a fortnight after the election.

LETTER V.—*Lord Clifford at Knaresborough*. See p. 189 n.

*Isle of Ree or Rhé*, on the Breton coast. The Philobiblion Society have printed Lord Herbert of Cherbury's account of the Expedition, which started 27 June and returned Nov. 1627. Evelyn mentions the return, p. 225 (*Chandos ed.*).

P. 251.] *Lord of Newport*. Referred to in Herbert, *Autob.* 19 n., 164 n. Montjoy Blount was Baron Montjoy in 1627, the time of the expedition to Rhé. He was created Earl of Newport, 3rd August 1628.

*Sir Charles Rich*, is included in a "list of those going to the Palatinate," *Powysl. Coll.* xx. 132; frequently mentioned in *S.P.* 1627–8.

*Sir John Heydon*. In Sir D. Carleton's *State Papers*, 1627, p. 252, he is called Sir W. Heydon, and it is stated that he was drowned at Rhé. Cf. Gard. vi. 274.

*Sir Jo. Burrowes*. For an account of his part in the expedition see Rushworth, i. 463, Forster *Eliot*, ii. 63–70, and D'Ewes' *Autob.* i. 366, who gives his date of death as 26 Sept. 1627. His last words are given by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, p. 24.

*Sir John Blundel*. Is this a slip for Sir George Blundell, mentioned frequently in *S.P.* 1627–8?

*Sir Alex. Bret*. See Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 164, iii. 1067. Evelyn (*Chandos ed.*), 384, and Gard. vi. 198.

LETTER VI.—*Earl of Sunderland*. Emanuel Scrope, 11th Baron Scrope of Bolton, was created Earl of Sunderland 19th June 1627; he died 1630.

*Earl of Denbigh*, mentioned previously, 171. He returned from an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Rochelle May 27, 1628. Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 272.

*stupendous*

*stupendous works.* Prof. Gardiner doubts whether Blake or Nelson would have tried to destroy them (Gard., *l.c.*).

P. 252.] *five subsidies granted.* "In order to make the medicine more palatable to Charles the resolution for the five subsidies was at last reported to the House." Gard., *l.c.*, 251.

*Petition of Right*, c. xviii. of Gardiner's *England under Buckingham* is devoted to this. It was assented to by the King June 7, 1628.

LETTER VII.—*Countess of Sunderland.* Referred to Nichol's *Prog.* iii. 453. She was sister to the Earl of Rutland and aunt of the Duchess of Buckingham, his daughter. This letter is quoted by Scoones, *Eng. Lett.*, No. lvii. p. 75, and in Nimmo's *British Letter Writers*, p. 315.

*D. of Buckingham was slain* on Aug. 23, O.S. 1628. There is another contemporary account in 1 Ellis, iii. 261, which agrees mainly with H. See also D'Ewes, *Autob.* i. 381-5; Warwick, 32-3; Fairfax, *Papers*, i. 142-3; and Gard., vi. 349-59.

*Lord of Rutland.* Francis Manners, succeeded his brother 1612, died 1632.

P. 253.] *Saturday*, 23 Aug. O.S. 1628, was on a Saturday, a detail which says much for the authenticity of this letter.

*Mons. Soubise.* Fairfax, i. 144, refers to his presence at the murder. For a moment it was thought that he had committed the murder. Gard., *l.c.*, ii. 337. He is frequently mentioned (Nichols, iii. 767, Croker, *Bassompierre*, 57, Forster, *Elliot*, i. 343-5 n.).

*Col. Fryer.* Sir Thomas. He was a short man, and it was while Buckingham was stooping to speak to him that Felton aimed the fatal blow.

P. 254.] *Dutchess.* Niece of the Countess to whom H. is writing. Gardiner also gives this detail, *l.c.*

*the word* "where is the villain?" was mistaken by Felton for "where is Felton?"

*Jack Stamford* was the Duke's servant. Sanderson, *Reign of Chas. I.*, p. 140 (C.H.F.). A certain Capt. Stamford was hanged in 1629. Straff. *Letters*, i. 51.

*Mr. Nicholas*, the Secretary, afterwards Sir Edward. See on p. 354.

*Capt. Mince*, probably Capt. John Menres, or Mince, frequently mentioned in *S.P.* 1628-9.

*Capt. Chas. Price.* One of H.'s correspondents and relations. See on p. 410. 5 Aug. Really written, according to H.'s account, on Monday, Aug. 25, 1628.

LETTER VIII.—*Sir Peter Wichts* [Wych] is mentioned in Sir T. Roe, *Negotiations*, 73, 822 (a letter by him); also in Clarendon, ii. 396; Mayor, *Ferrar*, 397, 342; Spedding, *Life*, vi. 177; and Wood, *Athenæ*. A life in Collins's *Baronetage*, iv. 220-1. His death is referred to later, 423. H. knew him in Spain and helped him to bring home Prince Charles' jewels, *supra*, 230.

*third time.* One only knows of Wimbledon's and this of Lindsey's. Perhaps H. is counting the Expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

*Lord of Lindsey.* See on p. 583.

P. 255.] *Whelps*, in navigation, are pieces of wood for holding cables (Philip's *New World*, *s.v.*), but evidently here used in the sense of small ships called the Lion's Whelps, and known as first whelp, second whelp, &c. They are defined as pinnaces, *S.P.*, 1628-9, pp. 3, 103 (C.H.F.).



to build Paul's. Mentioned again, 617. Cf. P. Warwick, 82-3; and Evelyn's *Life of Laud*, p. 504.  
*Lord of Newport*. See on p. 251.  
*all the colours*. Evelyn notices this (Chandos ed.), p. 44.  
*Rochel hath yielded*, Oct. 28. The King, Louis XIII., entered in triumph Nov. 1, 1628.  
*Nunca vi*, &c. "There was never so bad a peace that was not better than the best war."

P. 256.] LETTER IX.—*Mr. St. Geon at Christ Church*, mentioned in Campbell, *Chief Just.*; also 1 *N. and Q.* vii. 520. Another letter to him 326, from which it appears that he turned Roman Catholic.

*Qua, la vel Hipps*. Dr. Venn has kindly made a search for me for this technical term among the old logics, but without success. H. insists on the advantages of Logic, *For. Tr.* 16.

*Concoction and Agglutination*, the former clearly answers to digestion, but agglutination or adhesion is probably what we now term assimilation.  
*teneri* should be *tenere* as in ED. PR.

P. 257.] *Multiplicity of Authors*. Bacon's advice on study may be compared with this in his fiftieth Essay. H. recommends Books for the choyce ones in his *For. Tr.* 22.

LETTER X.—*Sir Sackvil Trevor, Knight*. See on p. 238.

*sea-chest of glasses*. Probably a box with divisions to hold glasses securely at sea.

*Holy Spirit*. S.P. Jan. 31, 1629. "On the taking of the St. Esprit, petitioner was by Sir Sackville, Trevor put in as purser." Cf. *Harl. Misc.* v. 108.

P. 258.] *Preserv'd from drowning*. The Prince's barge was being swept out to sea, when Sir Sackville in the "Defiance" threw out ropes which were seized by the crew, and Charles passed the night on the "Defiance." Gard., *Sp. M.* ii. 413. Cf. ref. in Masson, *Life*, i. 466, "The Prince's Escape at St. Andero."

*Todos los santos*. Pernambuco was captured by the Dutch 1629.  
 26 of Octob. 1625, should be 1627, as in second edition.

LETTER XI.—*Capt. Tho. B.* Probably T. Bowyer, for whom see p. 97.

*1st of March*. It took a long time if this letter was written on the 1st of August, as the date added to the second edition states.

*Sir Richard Scot*, mentioned in Spedding, *Life*, vii. 255, 256.

P. 259.] *Swearing*. Mr. Besant, *French Humourists*, has some remarks on French cursing. There is also a *Cursory History of Swearing* (Paul, Trübner, & Co.).

*a King*. Cf. the quatrain given by Brantome, by which each French King is known by his favourite oath—

Quand le "Pasque Dieu" décéda, [Louis XI.]

"Par le jour Dieu" luy succéda, [Chas. VIII.]

"Le Diable M'emporte" s'en tint près, [Louis XII.]

"Foy de Gentilhomme" vint après. [Francis I.]

*an Italian*. I have been told the same story as having happened in London at the beginning of this century.

P. 260.]

P. 260.] *Lady Southwell's*. See Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*. (H. K.) I cannot find it; Blomfield, *Norfolk* x. 275, mentions the marriage of Sir T. Southwell (†1648) with Margaret Fuller.

*hundred Thousand Sacraments*. Can this have any reference to the celebrated "Potztausend"?

*Death*. "Morbleu," the well-known euphemism for "Mort de Dieu."  
*five wounds*, probably a reference to "Zounds."

P. 262.] *O Heaven Chrystalline*, the *primum mobile*.

P. 263.] *Tom Young*, perhaps the one whose initials formed part of the well-known SmecTYMnuus. A letter to him later, p. 371.

1 Aug. Perfectly incongruous with the reference to March 1st in the body of the letter. ✓

LETTER XII.—*Will Austin* (1587–1634) of Lincoln's Inn and Southwark. His works were published posthumously (D.N.B.).

*Passion of Christ*. If this was published at all, it must have been in his "Meditations," 1635.

*Bankside to Paul's-Churchyard*. Austin resided at Southwark, Stow-Strype, ii. 15. Paul's Churchyard was the Paternoster Row of the period. The phrase is therefore equivalent to "from privacy to publication."

P. 264.] LETTER XIII.—*Sir J. S.*, scarcely J. Smith, who was a Kentishman.

A Sir John Savill is mentioned, *supra*, p. 269. This may be he, but the name is not given in the Table prefixed to Ed. Pr. (Doc. xxxix.)

*The best News*. Peace was looming in January 1629 (Gard. vii. *ad fin.*).

*Harwich Men, your Neighbours*, who had probably been troubled by the depredations of the Dunkirkers, of whom we hear much about this time.

P. 265.] LETTER XIV.—*Father*. See on p. 19.

*Mr. Hawes, a mercer in Cheapside*, probably son of Sir James Hawes, Lord Mayor of London, 1574.

*Thomas Howell*, mentioned in Strype's Stow, v. 58, as one of the benefactors of Draper's Hall, who gave more than £500 to it. He left "12,000 dukats to buy 400 dukats of rent yearly" with which to dower "4 maydens of my lynnage." See T. Falconer, *The charity of Thomas Howell established for the benefit of his Monmouthshire kinsfolk and others*, A.D. 1540, Lond. 1860. The pamphlet refers to H. and complains that the charity is mismanaged. If the donor was a Monmouth man he was not likely to be akin to the Howels of Penciaerau.

P. 266.] LETTER XV.—*Dr. Howell*. See on p. 25.

*Sir Arthur Manwaring*, mentioned D'Ewes' *Autob.* i. 87; Spedding, *Life*, vii. 256; Nicholls, i. 205.

*Keeping of your Act*, for his degree of D.D. presumably. This was usually by holding a public disputation to show competency. Where the stag came in I am unable to guess, nor is any hint given in Wordsworth, *University Life*.

*Other Spanish*. Bologna was at this time within the Spanish dominions. Charles V. was there crowned Emperor, 1529.

*Living hard by Henly, called Hambledon*, at the S.W. corner of Bucks, between Henley and Gt. Marlow. We find him at H., 499.

*Dr. Pilkinton*, perhaps the one mentioned Nichol's *Prog.* i. 172.

*Dr. Domlaw*, not mentioned in the *Athenæ*. Perhaps the Dr. Dorislaw afterwards murdered by the royalists abroad as a regicide (Wood, *Athenæ*, iii. 666.

P. 267.]

P. 267.] *Dr. Mansell*. See on p. 21.

*Mr. Watkins*. Richard, of Ch. Ch. (Wood, *Athenæ*, iii. 945).

*Mr. Madocks*, given in Clark, *Reg.* ii. 326, 337, but as of Jesus.

*Mr. Napier*. Afterwards Sir Richard, originally of Wadham and then of All Souls, an eminent physician. Cf. Wood, *Fasti*, ii. 47.

LETTER XVI.—*Mr. Ben Johnson*, the well-known poet, whose name is generally spelt without *h*. Howell was one of the Tribe of Ben. See Introduction.

*your Fox*, i.e., *Volpone*, produced 1607.

*Catilin*, produced 1611.

*Epigrams* were not published till 1640, unless in his *Workes*, 1631.

*Magnetick Lady*. This was Jonson's last play but one, and was produced in 1632 (Masson, *Life*, i. 398).

*Est Deus in Nobis*. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 5.

*Dr. Davies's Welsh Grammar*, i.e., *Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ nunc communiter dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ*. . . . *Rudimenta*, Lond. 1621; there is a poem by H. on this book, *infra*, 277.

*Vulcan*. A reference to the fire in which many of Jonson's MSS. were burned.

P. 268.] LETTER XVII.—*Sir Arthur Ingram*, frequently mentioned (*Jas. I.*, i. 262–367; Nichol's *Prog.* ii. 288 n.; Strafford *Letters*, i. 6, &c.; Spedding, *Life*, vii. *pass.*; Fairf. i. 277, ii. 311; Pepys (Chand.), 137, 240).

*Temple Newsam*, near Leeds, where Darnley was born. The house was built by Sir A. Ingram, and is now one of the seats of the Marquis of Hertford.

*Lord President*, i.e., the Earl of Sunderland, who was his patron at the time.

*Dr. Napier*. See on p. 267.

LETTER XVIII.—*R.S.* It is difficult to understand why H. inserted this letter except as a model of an Epistle Expostulatory. There was another letter to R.Sc., *supra*, 230, which we conjectured to be written to a Scrope.

P. 269.] LETTER XIX.—*Countess of Sunderland*. See on p. 252.

*my Lord*, i.e., the Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the North.

*Napier's*. See on preceding page and p. 267.

*Dr. Mayern*. Sir Theodore, born at Geneva 1573, died at Chelsea 1655.

His case books, giving the medical history of the most distinguished persons of the time, are still in the British Museum.

*Wickham*, East W. in Kent, near Woolwich.

*Atkinson*. An account of him is given in Munk, *Surgeons*, i. 87–8.

*D. Lopes*, a Spanish crypto-Jew, Elizabeth's physician, who was executed for attempting to murder her. Supposed to be the original of Shylock. See Mr. Lee's paper in *Gentleman's Mag.* Feb. 1880.

*Sir Jo. Saville*, frequently mentioned in the Strafford *Letters*, i. 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, &c. He was of Howley, co. York ("their countryman"). He was created a peer 21 July 1628. Cf. Herbert, *Autob.*, 29 n.

*White Staff* generally indicates the Lord Chamberlain, but Saville did not hold this office, being only high-steward of the royal honour of Pontefract, and afterwards Controller of the Household (Burke, *Extinct Peer.* 467.)

*Lord Weston*. See on p. 130.

*Lord Cottington*. See on p. 162.

*Swedes* under Gustavus Adolphus, but he did not embark for Germany till June 1630.

*My*

*My Lady Scroop*, or Scrope, wife of Thomas, tenth Baron Scrope of Bolton, who died 1609.

*Sir Posthumus Hobby*. On him see Pref. to *Fortesque Papers* (C.S.), also 1 *N. and Q.* vii. 626, and for the name Halliwell, *Dict.* s.v.

*Biggin-Farm*. This seems a local touch that is scarcely likely to have been inserted afterwards.

*Sir Will Alford*, referred to, Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 118 n.

*Sir Tho. Wentworth*, afterwards the Earl of Strafford. See on p. 279. His defection from the popular cause is treated by Forster, *Eliot*, Bk. ix. c. v., under date of 23 May 1628.

*Mr. Wansford*. See on p. 249: he was a satellite of Wentworth's. Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 66.

*Lady Scroop*. Philadelphia, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, married Lord Scrope of Bolton, father of the Earl of Sunderland.

P. 270.] 5 Aug. 1629. This does not chime in with the reference to Sir John Savile or to the date of the defection of Wentworth.

LETTER XXI.—*Dr. H. W.* From the "Table" of ED. PR. we learn that this is Dr. H. Wicham, perhaps Wickham.

*Female Promises*. Cf. Balthasar Gracian, *Oraculo Manual*, § 202.

*Mr. B. Chaworth*, a relation probably of George Viscount Chaworth.

*Lady Robinson*. This does not imply a double marriage of the lady, since Mrs. was applied to single ladies.

P. 272.] LETTER XXII.—*Mr. Tho. M.* There is a letter to Mr. T. More, 541, and to Mr. T. Morgan, 556. The latter is also mentioned, p. 88.

P. 274.] LETTER XXIII.—*Countess of Sunderland at Langar*. "Here [at Langar, Notts] was an ancient house, now re-edified by Hen. Lo. Scroope," whose monument is there (Brayley and Britton, *Beauties*, 225).

*Bolton Castle*, at West Bolton, co. York, whence the Scropes take their title of "Scropes of Bolton."

*Lord Carleton*. He was now "Lord," but H. seems to apply this term to Baronets and Knights as well. Sir Dudley Carleton was ultimately Clerk of Council (*infra*, 667), and is frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time (e.g. Herbert, *Autob.*, 151–61; Forster, *Eliot*, i. 556; Mayor's *Ferrar*, 16, 189).

*Wanless Park*. Not in the Gazetteers.

*Rabbi Castle*, sic in ED. PR. Should be Raby Castle, co. Durham, but this was purchased by Sir Henry Vane, *temp.* Jas. I., and is still in the hands of his descendants (Brayley and Britton, *Beauties*, v. 232; Collins, *Peerage*, iv. 505).

*Lord of Wentworth* was made Lord Deputy 3 July 1633.

P. 276.] *Lord of Pembroke*. Philip, Earl of P., who afterwards went over to the Parliamentarians, and was addressed, in consequence, by H. in a scathing letter (Bibl. List, No. 20).

*Sir David Fowler*, sic in ED. PR., should probably be Fowles (C.H.F.). A full account of the quarrel and of Sir D. Foulis' character, by Wentworth himself, is given in a letter dated York, 24 Sept. 1632, in the App. to *Handb. Dyce and Forster Coll.* p. 95.

*Attorney's place in York*. See the two letters exchanged between Sunderland and Wentworth in Supplement dated Dec. 15, 1628, and May 5, 1629.

John.

*John Lister*. Formerly M.P. for Hull. Forster, *Elliot*, i. 429. He is mentioned Spedding, *Life*, vii. 258.

*Ratcliff*, mentioned in H.'s own letter to Wentworth, *infra*, p. 650.

*Dutchess your Niece*, the Duchess of Buckingham. See *supra*, on p. 254.

*York House*, in the Strand, where Bacon was born. At his death it was borrowed by the Duke of Buckingham from Matthews, Archbishop of York, whose official residence it was—theoretically. It is called "Jorschau" in Croker, *Bassompierre*, 25.

1 July 1629, inconsistent with the reference to Wentworth as Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1633, and to the quarrel between him and Fowlis. On the other hand Mr. Ratcliff became Sir George in July 1633, a touch confirming the authenticity of the present letter.

LETTER XXIV.—D. C. D. Caldwell. See *supra*, p. 107.

*House in Essex*, at Shreves or Sheriff.

*Jack T.* Toldervy mentioned, *supra*, 28. He is mentioned in Hasted, *Kent*; and from the Harl. Soc., *Visitation of Essex*, turns out to be Caldwell's brother-in-law.

*Will die in a Butt*. This prophecy turned out false as Toldervy turned Quaker and wrote a conversionist pamphlet as late as 1656 (H. K.).

P. 276.] LETTER XXV.—*Sir Thomas Lake*. H. K. gives the following references: Wood, *Ath. and Fasti*; *Jas. I.*, i. 216; Lysons, *Environs*; Bayley, *Tower of London*; D'Israeli, *Misc.*, 338; Jesse, i. 72-5; Croker, *Bass*, 85-9; Add Nichols, ii. 264 n. Another letter to him, p. 499.

*Martial's*. Lib. x. cp. 47, the fine description of a happy life.

*Sir Kenelm Digby*. See on 191.

LETTER XXVI.—*Ben Johnson*. See on. p. 267.

*Dr. Davies's British Grammar*. See on p. 267.

*The Rabbits pass my reach*. In other words, H. does not know Hebrew.

*Clenard*. Nicholas (1495-1542). His *Institutiones linguae Græcæ*, 1530, was the standard text-book of Greek Grammar of the time.

P. 277.] *for Irish*. Scarcely M. Clery's *Lexicon Hibernicum*, Louvain, 1643, which is too late. Perhaps the *Ratio legendi Hibernicam* of 1571, given by Watt under Subject with a wrong reference under authors.

*Bascuence*. Basque.

*Catarac*. Caractacus, shortened and changed for exigencies of rhyme.

*Lucius*. The proto-Christian King, on whom see p. 387.

LETTER XXVIII.—*Earl of Bristol* (1580-1677). Buckingham's opponent (D.N.B.), frequently mentioned by H. The Sophronio of his *Dodona's Grove*. See Index.

*Sherborn-Castle*, co. Dorset (Brayley and Britton, *Beauties*, iv. 493). It had belonged to Raleigh, and was given to Sir J. Digby by Jas. I. for £10,000. Cf. Edwards, *Raleigh*, i. 469-80.

*Lord Cottington*. See on 162. He was sent to Spain in the autumn of 1629, and signed the treaty of peace with that power, 5 Nov. 1630. He was not raised to the peerage till 10 July 1631 (D.N.B.).  
*old business* of the "Vineyard," see *supra*, 151.

P. 278.] *Peace with the Dane*, June 7, 1629 (Gindely, *Thirty Years' War*, i. 445).

*Gustavus King of Swethland*. Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

*Taken Mecklenburgh* in 1630. Gustavus summoned Capt. Hume to "Mickle Bury land" (S.P. 1629-31, p. 431).

*Don*

*Don Carlos Coloma*, mentioned also in *For. Tr.* 60. He is mentioned as having arrived, *S.P.* Dec. 22, 1629. See also *supra*, pp. 190, 255. 20th May 1629, inconsistent with Cottington's title and the capture of Mecklenburgh.

LETTER XXVIII.—*J. P.* John Price, for whom see p. 194. He is not in Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*.

P. 279.] LETTER XXIX.—*Viscount Wentworth*. He was created Viscount, 10 Dec. 1628.

*Pignerol*. H. gives an account of its capture and the importance of it, *Lustra Ludov.* 93-4; *sub anno*, 1630.

P. 280.] LETTER XXX.—*Sir Kenelm Digby*. See on p. 191.

*Happy return from the Levant*. He landed at Woolwich, 2 Feb. 1629. His "Journal of the Scanderoon Voyage" has been published by the Camden Society.

*Bay of Scanderoon, i.e., Alexandria*, see *infra*, 442. Digby fought the French and Venetian vessels in the harbour. A reference in Aubrey, *Lives*, ii. 238; also in H.'s *S.P.Q. V.* 167.

P. 281.] *our Aleppo Merchants*. Digby had to retire "because his presence in the Levant jeopardised the position of the English merchants at Aleppo and elsewhere," *D.N.B.*, s.v. p. 616.

LETTER XXXI.—*Sir Peter Wicht*. See on p. 254.

*Master Simon Digby*. See on p. 210.

*First of June, i.e., 1629*, for the letter is dated 1 Jan. 1629, *i.e., 1630*, but six months is rather long for the delivery of a letter even from Constantinople.

*Sir Tho. Edmonds*. See on p. 242. He is mentioned by Herbert, *Autob.* 106, 206; Nichols, *Prog.* i. 156 n. and *pass.*; Fairfax, i. 184; also in Granger, Lloyd, and the *Strafford Letters*.

*Mr. Burlenmach*, the chief financial agent of the period, and frequently mentioned as such (Spedding, *Life*, vii. 49; Carleton, *Letters*, 17, 435; Roe, *Negot. Lett.* lxi., lxii. (from B.); Forster, *Eliot*, i. 470, 471 n., ii. 97 n.; Herbert, *Autob.* 188 n.; *Powysl. Coll.* xx. 139).

*Chateauneuf*, mentioned frequently in *S.P.* 1629-32 from Sept. 25, 1629, onwards.

*Lord Treasurer Weston*. See on p. 130. He became Earl of Portland in 1633, so that H. is accurate in his title. His eldest son Jerome, afterwards second Earl, did marry Lady Frances Stuart, the Duke of Lenox's daughter.

P. 282.] *Bishop Laud of London*, since 1628.

*his Persian Expedition*. Bagdad was taken by Murad IV. 25 Dec. 1638.

LETTER XXXII.—*Sir Tho. Wentworth*. We had him as Viscount, *supra*, 279.

*Attorney's Place*. A reference to this, *supra*, 275, and in Supplement, from which the date would be between Sept. 1628 and May 1629.

*Lord of Sunderland*, further references to his illness, *supra*, pp. 268-9.

P. 283.] *Bever Castle, i.e., Belvoir Castle*, co. Leicester, the home of the Mannors.

*Mr. Haws of Cheapside*, on whom see p. 265.

*Capt. Philips*. There is a Philips named in Spedding, *Life*, vii. 542.

*Lady*

*Lady Carlisle*, the reigning beauty at Charles's court about this time. Cf. Forster, *Five Members*, 133-9; P. Warwick, 224; Lilly, *Life*, 234. It was she who warned the five members. Dorothy Osborne calls her "extraordinary," *Letters*, 171, and her editor, Mr. Parry, explains the epithet by a characterisation, *ibid.*, 167.

LETTER XXXIII.—*Lord Cottington*. See on p. 162. He went as ambassador to Spain in the autumn of 1629.

*Harry Davies*. Mentioned in the *Strafford Letters*, ii. 285, as a kind of courier or king's messenger.

*Correo Santo*. Sp. lit. "sacred courier," but his exact functions I cannot ascertain. Probably king's messenger to Rome.

P. 284.] *old business* of the "Vineyard," *supra*, 151.

*the Swedes*, under Gustavus Adolphus at latter end of 1630.

*Sir Kenelm Digby*. See on p. 191. He landed in England after his Scanderoon voyage, 2nd Feb. 1628.

*Mr. Goring*, afterwards Sir George Goring, the Cavalier officer (cf. Wilson, 104; Weldon, 92; Gard. iii. 218; Croker, *Bass*, 48; Clar. ii. 417; Fairf. i. 263 n.).

*Mr. Jermin*, referred to Gard. vii. 218, 333; letters by him, Warburton, *Rupert*, i. 502-3.

*Duels*, on the frequency of duelling at this period Herbert of Cherbury's *Autobiography* affords abundant proof. See also a proposal of Bacon in Spedding, vi. 108-10; and a paper of Carlyle's, *Miscell.* ii. 213-37, "A Fragment about Duels."

*Mrs. Baker*. There is a Mrs. Baker mentioned in *S. P.* for 1639. She was probably related to Baker, the Duke of Buckingham's servant (*Nichol's Prog.*, iii. 1033).

*Sir Arthur Ingram*. See on p. 268.

1 *March* 1630. This conflicts with the account given by Sir K. Digby of the same duel in which H. was wounded and, as Digby alleges, cured by his "sympathetic powder." See Suppt. Doc. xxii. and notes, in which I show that H.'s account is the more probable—for once.

LETTER XXXIV.—*Viscount Rocksavage*, i.e., Sir Thomas Savage that was, for whom see p. 132. He was created Viscount Savage of Rock Savage, 6 Nov. 1626. This accuracy about titles is one of the points in favour of the authenticity of some of the Letters. See *Introd.* p. lxxviii.

P. 285.] LETTER XXXV.—*Earl of Bristol*. See on p. 160.

*battel of Leipsick*, in which Gustavus defeated Tilly, 7 Sept. 1631.

*Sir Tho. Roe* (1580-1644), whom the Queen of Hearts and Bohemia addressed as "Honest Tom," previously ambassador to Constantinople; he negotiated the peace between Sweden and Poland, 1629.

*near Augsburg*, at Rain on the Lech, 5 April 1632: he died within three weeks after, so had little use for a wooden leg.

*at Munchen*. He entered this 17 May 1632.

*at Mentz*, now Metz.

P. 286.] *Sir Henry Vane* (1509-1654) the Elder, at this time ambassador extraordinary to the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, and the Princes of Germany (*S.P.* 1631-3).

*Sir Robert Anstruther*, a well-known diplomatist of the time (Spedding, *Life*, vii. 81; Fairf. i. 256). He was sent to Ratisbon, June 1630 (Gard. vii. 173), and to Vienna, March 1631 (*l.c.* 178).

*brother*

brother Don Carlos is lately dead, in 1632, aged 26. See *supra*, p. 155, 182. 23 April, 1630. This is antedated a year, if the reference to the Battle of Leipsic and Anstruther's Vienna mission was in original.

LETTER XXXVI.—*Lady Cor.* Probably Lady Cornwallis, to whom a later letter is addressed, see p. 312.

*marinate.* Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his work on *Books of Cookery*, p. 101, gives a recipe, "To marinade a Leg of Lamb." They still marinade pilchards in Cornwall, Mr. Sketchley tells me.

P. 287.] *ollia.* "To make an Olio Pye" is the title of a recipe quoted by Mr. Hazlitt, *l.c.* 109-10.

*common sense*, now called by psychologists the organic sense.

*after the mode.* Probably the kind of beef *à la mode* known in French cookery as Bœuf *à la mode à la Paysanne*. See Marin, *Dons de Comus*, Paris, 1758, t. i. p. 197, "mettez . . . un peu de lard maigre au fond."

LETTER XXXIV.—*Mr. E. D.* Another letter to the same, 308, connects him with Bury [St. Edmunds], and suggests that he was one of the Drury family. *T. B.* Can this be Tom Bowyer, frequently mentioned in these *Letters*? See Index.

*such a place.* This vague phrase cannot have been in an original letter.

*Caligula's Horse* named Incitatus. Suetonius only says he was *intended* for the Consulate ("consulatum quoque destinasse traditur").

P. 288.] LETTER XXXVIII.—*Earl of Leicester.* Robert Sydney (†1677), created Earl 1618; for a Latin account of his embassy written by J. H., see Supplement.

*Lord Weston.* See on p. 130.

*late death of the Lady Sophia*, Queen Anne's mother.

*Baynards-Castle*, on the banks of the Thames, just below St. Paul's. At the time it was the home of the Earl of Pembroke. One of the unpublished letters of the Earl of Leicester relating to his embassy is dated thence (Rec. Off. S. P. For. Denmark, No. 9, dated 9th Aug. 1632).

*Secretary in this Ambassage.* His account of the Embassy, written in the capacity of Secretary or "Orator," is given in the Appendix.

P. 289.] LETTER XXXIX.—*Alderman Moulson.* Sir Thomas, mentioned Nichol's *Prog.* iii. 597; Fairf. i. 89. He was Lord Mayor of London for part of 1633 and for 1634. Stow, v. 153.

*Merchant Adventurers.* Were incorporated by Elizabeth, 1564. They were practically what we now call importers.

*the Staple.* Referred to *supra*, 243.

LETTER XL.—To *Alderman Clethero.* Sir Christopher. He was M.P. for City. Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 100, mentioned Fairf. i. 89. He was Lord Mayor in 1636.

*Mr. Skinner.* Perhaps Milton's friend to whom one of the Sonnets is addressed.

LETTER XLI.—*Earl of Leicester.* See on p. 288. His instructions for the embassy are given in the *Sydney Papers*, ii. 374.

*Petworth*, co. Sussex, the old seat of the Percies.

*Sir John Pennington*, one of the most distinguished admirals of the time mentioned



mentioned in Edwards' *Raleigh*, i. 600, 649, ii. 353, 372; *Fairf.* i. 20–21. According to *S.P.* there was a dispute between him and Capt. Plumligh as to who should carry Leicester. *S.P.* June 4, 1632.

P. 290.] at *Margate*. "Margett" in ED. PR., as in all contemporary documents.

*Mr. Burlamach*. See on 281.

*Sir Paul Pindar*. See on 543, where there is a letter to him.

25th of July. From the official record it will be seen that it began from as early a date as Dec. 8. 1631.

*Luckstadt*, *Gluckstadt*, spelt *Luxtoad* by Pennington in his Log.

LETTER XLII.—*Lord Mohun*. John, 2nd Baron, *ob.* 1644.

12th August. By the date at end it took him over a fortnight to answer.

*unseasonable*, a subtle dramatic touch which seems to vouch for the authenticity of this letter.

*It was founded first*. As a matter of fact, it took its rise with the persecution of the Albigenses, 1203, and was hence introduced into Spain, 1248.

P. 291.] *Whosoever was found*. H. may have got this from an old pamphlet: *A discovery and playne declaration of sundry subtle practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spain*, 1568, or more likely from his own knowledge.

*brangling*, *branling*, ED. PR. Both forms are used, and imply the same as their original, the French *branler*, "to totter." H. was fond of the word, and the quotations in the Oxford Dict. are mainly from him.

P. 292.] *an Act of Faith*. Port. *Auto da fé*.

*Chaperon*, a small cape, the original use of the word; the later application is of this century. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s.v.

## SECTION VI.

And last of Book I., originally published in 1645. This therefore contains a record of the fourteen years 1632–45, *i.e.*, nearly as long a period as the remaining five sections. It is chiefly occupied with the Embassy to Denmark in the autumn of 1632; for this I have given a contemporary account of Howell's and Admiral Pennington's Log (See Docs. iv., xxiii.–vii.). The remainder of the Section is taken up with H.'s wanderings through the United Kingdom, and his seizure and imprisonment in the Fleet.

P. 293.] LETTER I.—*To P. W.* Philip (afterwards Sir Philip) Warwick, 1608–93. He is frequently mentioned both by Pepys and Evelyn, and *Fairf.* i. 81, ii. 160, 309 n. His *Memoirs* are of some value, and have been translated into French. There is a life of him in *Biog. Univ.*

*Sir John Pennington*. See on p. 289.

*Margets*, the ordinary spelling of the time.

*Monday*, 17 Sept. 1632. See Pennington's Log.

*Rensburg*, in Schleswig-Holstein. See next page.

*Richsadt*, should be *Richsdagh*, as in ED. PR.; it is Danish for Parliament.

*Cf.* Germ. *Reichstag*.

*Mr. Burlamach*. See on p. 281.

*Mr. Avery*. There is a letter from him to the Earl of Leicester on this very occasion in the *Sydney Papers*, ii. 373–4.

*find*

*find out Wallestein.* He attacked him at Nuremberg at the end of Aug. 1632.

*Mr. Railton.* William, mentioned in *Straf. Lett.* i. 310, 348 (C.H.F.), "a very honest, able man."

P. 294.] LETTER II.—*Viscount S.* Savage probably, see on p. 132.

*Orator.* "Jacobo Howell Oratore" is the heading of H.'s Latin account.

*Secretary Naunton,* Sir Robert (1563–1635), author of the *Fragmenta Regalia*.

*Cf. Herbert, Autob.,* pp. 337, 348.

*I made another,* referred to in H.'s Latin account, p. 652.

*Pr. Frederick.* He succeeded his father in 1648, the king elect having predeceased the king.

P. 295.] *Husem in Ditzmarsh,* now called Husum, about twenty-two miles west of Schleswig and on the sea.

*thirty five healths,* the carouse in Hamlet, Act i. sc. 3, is obviously recalled by this toasting of the King of Denmark. T. Forde has some interesting remarks on the origin of toasts in his *Fam. Letters*, p. 49.

*Gothorp Castle,* in Schleswig, also referred to in the Latin account, *infra*, 652.

*I made a speech,* not referred to in Latin account.

*Rensburgh,* now Rendsburg, on the borders of Schleswig and Holstein.

*Sir Robert Anstruther.* See on p. 286.

9 Oct. 1632. A tolerably likely date, and the contents are sufficiently attested by the Latin account.

LETTER III. *Earl R.* Rivers probably.

*Hans, or Hansiatick League.* The best English account of this is Miss Zimmer's *Hansa Towns*, in the "Story of the Nations" Series.

P. 297.] *Staplers and Merchant-Adventurers,* the former was incorporated as early as 1319, the latter as late as 1564.

P. 298.] *Easterlings,* from whom we get the expression sterling.

*Monopolists.* These had been declared illegal in England at the end of the preceding reign after a fierce controversy.

P. 300.] *Alderman Cockeins.* For a full account of his proposals, see Gard. ii. 386; *cf.* also *supra*, p. 36; and Spedding, *Life*, vi. 283.

LETTER IV.—*Capt. J. Smith,* a Capt. John Smyth was discharged of his captaincy of Gravesend, 27 Mar. 1632 (*S.P.* under date).

*Mr. James Crofts,* son of Sir James, on whom see 22; he had been up at Oxford in H.'s time (*Clark, Reg.* ii. 39).

P. 301.] *they resemble the English.* Howell makes the same remark in his *For. Travel*, ed. Arber, 48; *cf.* also a passage quoted from Worsae in 2 *N. and Q.*, iii. 489, also *Germ. Diet.*

*English nation came first.* This is, of course, now a commonplace of English history; *cf.* the opening passage of Green's *Short History*.

*Island call'd Angles.* H. probably refers to the district of Holstein known as *Angeln*; H. again draws attention to the fact, *infra*, p. 461.

P. 302.] LETTER V.—*Earl of Br., i.e.,* Bristol, on whom see 160. This letter again goes over the ground covered by the Latin account in the Supplement and in Letter II. *supra*.

P. 304.]

P. 304.] *Pass by the Hague.* As a matter of fact he sent Crofts instead, *supra*, p. 300.

*would engage his honour.* This fine action is likewise quoted in H.'s treatise on Ambassadors, at the end of his *Precedency of Kings*.

*Husem*, a reference to this in the Latin account, p. 652. See also on p. 294. *our King's Aunt*, his mother's sister.

*Stode where Lesley was Governor.* Stade, see p. 243. On Lesley see Warburton, *Rupert*, i. 169; and Carlyle, *Cromwell*, i. 344.

P. 305.] *Broomsbottle.* Brunsbüttel. See Pennington's Log, Sept. 18.

LETTER VI.—*Dr. Howell, House in Horsley*, co. Surrey, where he was vicar, *supra*, 25.

*fall of the K. of Sweden*, 6/16 Nov. 1632. They learnt it about the 26th (P.O.S.).

*One Jerbire.* Mr. C. H. Firth suggests this is a misprint (of the ED. PR.) for Dalbier, who is mentioned (*Court Chas. I.*, ii. 202) as having brought the news.

*slain at Lutzen.* For other contemporary accounts see *Court Chas. I.*, ii. 202; *Straff. Lett.* i. 80.

P. 306.] *whose Anagram is Augustus*, counting the *v* as *u*.

*Marquis Hamilton* (1606–49). See Gard. vii. 174; Warwick, *Mem.* 110–8; also in Burnet's *Life* (C.H.F.).

*Mr. Mouschamp.* There is a Sir T. Mouschamp mentioned, Nichols, i. 469; and Sir. W. iii. 299.

LETTER VII.—*Dr. Field.* See on p. 230.

*Father's death.* It is a question whether H. would have acted a lie about such an event as the death of his father.

P. 307.] LETTER VIII.—*Earl of Leicester.* See on p. 289.

*Mr. Secretary Coke.* Sir J. Coke, Secretary to the Admiralty, whose valuable papers are now being calendared by the Hist. MSS. Commission. (D.N.B. and Warwick, *Memoir*, 153).

*an Account of the whole Legation.* This is now at the Bodleian and is printed in the Supplement, pp. 651–3.

*Mr. Alderman Clethero.* See on p. 289.

*the same day.* That is scarcely likely, for, from Pennington's Log, we know Leicester embarked on Nov. 21, and even if that was N.S., it is improbable that it took five days from Hamburg to Brunsbüttel.

*Prince Palatine*, died at Mentz, 29 Nov. 1632. See also *Straff. Lett.* i. 80.

P. 308.] *this Pope Lutherano*, Urban VIII. See *supra*, 237. He suppressed the order of female Jesuits about this time, which may account for the name.

LETTER IX.—*Mr. E. D.* See on 287.

*at Bury St. Edmunds*, co. Suffolk.

*St. Dunstons* in the west. Strafford was baptised there.

P. 309.] *John Oxenham.* Readers will remember the effective use made of this superstition by Kingsley in the first chapter of his *Westward Ho!* An account is given in *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1794, of the last appearance of the bird (*Cf. 2 N. and Q.* iii. 212).

Town

*Town hard by Exeter.* Kingsley also makes John Oxenham in his story a Devonian.

LETTER X.—*W.B.*, possibly W. Blois, the only W.B. among H.'s correspondents. See p. 494.

P. 310.] LETTER XI.—Sir Arthur Ingram. See on p. 268.  
*New Attorney General.* Noy, on whom see p. 319.  
*Judge Richardson*, afterwards Chief Justice. Cf. Campbell, *Chief. Just.* i.  
*Tax called Ship money.* The first design appears to be a suggestion of Sir T. Coke, *S.P.* 1634-5, p. 100. This was about June 1634. But see a curious note of Evelyn's in his *Observations on a late History of Chas. I.*, 1656, p. 120-1.  
*from Bullen, i.e., Boulogne.*

P. 311.] *Lord of Holland.* See on 171.  
*House at Kensington.* The well-known Holland House, which came to him by his wife, Miss Cope.

LETTER XII.—*Wentworth.* See on p. 269.  
*Queen-Mother.* See *Lustra Lud.* 99, sub anno 1631.  
*Monsieur.* H. tells the story, *Lustra*, 103, sub anno 1632.  
 1 of April, 1633. This letter would seem to be misdated and misplaced.

P. 312.] LETTER XIII.—*Lady Cornwallis.* See 286. Elizabeth, widow of Sir Frederick Cornwallis.  
*Christmas-day*, scarcely "now near approaching" if we could trust the date, 3 Feb. 1633 [-4].

LETTER XIV.—Lord Clifford at Knaresborough.

P. 313.] *the Jews.* A similar account in Bk. II., Letter viii. *infra*, p. 383, *seq.* The present was utilised by H. in his introduction to Josippon (Bibl. List, No. 40). He got his information from Sandys, *Travels*, 109-116, and Blount, *Voyage*.  
*first Christian Country*, not precisely correct. The expedition from England was in 1290, and Philip Augustus expelled them from France from 1182 to 1198.  
*France* in 1301. *Spain* in 1492. *Portugal* in 1511.  
*Brokers and Lombardeers.* See on this M. Loeb, *Le juif de légende et le juif de l'histoire*. H. got the notion from Sandys, *l.c.*, p. 115.

P. 314.] *Benjamin's Tribe.* I cannot say how H. got this idea.  
*Tribe of Judah*, whence the name of Jew.  
*settled in Portugal*, whither they were driven from Spain in 1492.  
*Alchoran.* The first English translation of this, by Alex. Ross, appeared in 1642. But there was an account of "Alcaron" published by Wynkyn de Worde.  
*fulsome scent.* On this Sir T. Browne has a chapter in his *Vulgar Errors*. See also George Eliot, *Dan. Deronda*, c. xlii.

P. 315.] *mysterious Cabal.* The Cabbala mystical doctrine, chiefly founded on the Sohar, a mystical commentary on Genesis, attributed to a Rabbi of the second, but really composed by one of the twelfth century. H.'s account

account of it was probably taken from H. Blount, *Voyage*, 3rd ed. 1638, pp. 117 *seq.*

*the Africans*, the ordinary Rabbinic Jews, who in Howell's days had their chief seat in Africa, owing to the expulsion from Spain in 1492.

*the second*, a reference to the Karaites, who reject the Talmud or traditional interpretation of Scripture.

*Samaritans*, of whom a few are still extant at Shechem. They are the only Jews who still actually sacrifice the Paschal Lamb.

P. 316.] *drink no wine*. This is some error: strictly orthodox Jews do not drink wine unless made under their own supervision, but there is no such thing as Dispensation in Judaism.

*kind of cupboard*, called the Ark, and representing rather the Holy of Holies than the Tabernacle.

*Jehovah is pronounced*, a mistake. "Jehovah" is a fabricated word with the vowels of *Adonay* and the consonants of the Tetragrammaton, the true pronunciation of which is now lost.

*Linen-Cope*. Still used and called a *Talith*. H. got the expression from Sandys, *l.c.*

*lower creation*. H. probably gets this entirely erroneous idea from Blount's *Travels*.

P. 317.] LETTER XV.—*Mr. Philip Warwick*. See on p. 293.

*Swedes at Nordlinghen*. The Archduke Ferdinand defeated the Swedes 6 Sept. 1634.

*Monsieur's Marriage*, given by H. in *Lustra*, p. 106, sub anno 1633.

*Love call'd Platonick Love*. There is a letter of Clarendon's to Lady Dalkeith on the subject, under date 1647 (C.H.F.) Davenant wrote a Tragedy entitled *The Platonick Lovers*, 1636. H. refers the invention to Marguerite de Valois in his *Lust. Lud.* p. 26, with her celebrated aphorism, "Voulez vous cesser d'aymer? Possédez la chose aymée."

P. 318.] LETTER XVI.—*Mr. H. P. Penry*, for whom see 129.

*1st of September* scarcely agrees with date at end.

*murmuring against the Ship-money*. This took shape in the autumn of 1634. *Noy*, the Attorney-General. See on 319; and *cf.* *Strafford Papers*, i. 242, 262.

*a Scotchman*. "One Capt. *Lashly* hath got a Patent to collect the Penalty the Statute imposeth on Swearers." Howell to the Lord Deputy, 30 July 1635, *Straff. Lett.* i. 446.

1 Aug. 1633, obviously inconsistent with the reference to Ship-money.

P. 319.] LETTER XVI.—*Viscount Savage, Long Melford*. See on p. 284.

*Attorney-General Noy* (1577–16 Aug. 1634). He devised the writ of ship-money, though Finch is thought to have suggested the idea. See on p. 318. *Tunbridge*. Noy died at Brentford, according to Lysons, *Environs of London*, ii. 28.

*Edoardo*, to whom there is a letter, *infra*, p. 329. He died in a duel, so that his father's presentment was justified, D. Gilbert, *Hist. Cornwall*, iii. 156.

. 320.] *William Noy, I moil in Law*. H. was very fond of these Anagrams. See Index, *sub voce*.

*Judge Jones* (1566–1640), was one of the five judges who declared against Hampden (Foss, vi. 340), and it was he that tried Felton. Forster, *Elliot*, ii. 373.

LETTER XVIII.—*Countess of Sunderland*. See on p. 252.

Lord

*Lord Deputy* Strafford. This was with reference to the Attorney's place at York, *supra*, p. 275.

*Nephew Princes*. Charles and Rupert, the sons of the Palsgrave.

*Prince Robert*, known to us as Rupert. He is called Robert in his brother and mother's Disclaimer of him in 1642, *Somers Tracts*, iv. 498. It was contemplated sending him to Madagascar. Warburton, *Rupert*, i. 59. See also King's Pamphlet in Brit. Mus. (240-16, K. 1636).

*Capt. Bond*. A Mr. Secretary Bond is mentioned in Spedding, *Life*, vi. 148; others, Nichol's *Prog. Jas. I.*, i. 547, iii. 986.

P. 321.] LETTER XIX.—*Earl of Leicester*. See on 289.

*flying Journey*. No other record of this can be found. There is a letter of Mainwaring to Windebank from Orleans. S.P. Feb. 16, 1633.

*Secretary Windebank*. Sir Francis was appointed to succeed Cottington in June 1632. For Life see *Biog. Brit.*, and further reference in Clar. Gard. i N. and Q. iii. 373 (H.K.); Carlyle, *Crom.* i. 110.

*Montmorency*, Henry II., Duke of (1595-1632), joined Monsieur's conspiracy, was defeated by Schomberg and executed at Toulouse 30 Oct. 1632. H. repeats all he says here in *Lustra*, 105.

*Infant Cardinal*. H. tells this incident about Monsieur under date 1634, *Lustra Lud.* 106.

P. 322.] *Sir Robert Pye*, auditor of receipts at the Exchequer, frequently mentioned in S.P. for 1631-33. Cf. Whitelocke, *Mem.* 693, 696.

*Lord of Lindsey*. Robert Bertie, created Earl of Lindsey 1626, was son of Baron Willoughby de Eresby, who had gone to Denmark as Ambassador in 1582.

P. 323.] *compleat Diary*, that was preserved in the Bodleian and reprinted in this edition, p. 651 *seq.*  
*your own late Legation* to Denmark.

LETTER XX.—*Mr. Ben Johnson*. See on p. 267.

*a choice story*. For the variants of this well-known tale (one in Boccaccio) see my edition of Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, I. tale lviii. H. simply took it from Rosset., *XVIII. Histoires tragiques*, Paris, 1609, and his statement as to hearing it is but a white one.

P. 324.] *Museum*, the celebrated Tribe of Ben who acknowledged his literary dictatorship. They met chiefly at the Old Devil Tavern, near Temple Bar, where Jonson's *Leges Conviviales* were inscribed.

*Sir Inigo Jones*, the celebrated architect (1573-1652), whom B. Jonson satirised as Vitruvius Hoop in *The Tale of the Tub* in 1633. P. Cunningham gives a full account of the quarrel in his *Life of Inigo Jones* for the (old) Shakespeare Soc.

LETTER XXI.—*Capt. Tho. Porter*. See on p. 55.  
*your brother* Endymion, for whom see p. 535.

P. 325.] LETTER XXII.—*Capt. Saintgeon*. Oliver, as the "Table" of ED. PR. informs us, a brother of William St. John, *supra*, 256, and probably son of Sir William, *supra*, 81. Not to be confounded with Chief Justice Oliver St. John, "the dark lanthorn man" (Campbell, *Chief Justices*, c. xiii.), but probably the one mentioned by Campbell in a footnote, p. 449, as having been called to the Bar in 1638.

Peter

*Peter van Heyn.* Pieter Hein (1570–1629) captured the Plata fleet, 9 Sept. 1628 (Gard. vi. 374), and died in battle 20 Aug. 1629, so that this letter is much misplaced, if authentic. Brereton saw the monument to him at Delft (*Travels*, p. 23).

LETTER XXIII.—*Viscount S. Savage*, see on p. 132.  
*from Scotland.* Charles visited Scotland and was crowned there, 18 Jan. 1633.

P. 326.] *D. of Bavaria.* H. refers to this in one of his letters to Strafford under date of 30 July 1635. *Straff. Lett.* i. 446.  
*young Lady Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of the "Queen of Hearts." The wooing of the Polish King Uladislaus extended from 1632 to 1637, and is told by Mrs. Green, *Princesses*, v. 542–7; cf. Sanderson, *Charles I.*, p. 213. The Polish embassy arrived in England about June 1636.

LETTER XXIV.—*Mr. Will. Saintgeon at St. Omer*, where there was a celebrated Jesuit College. Permits to travel generally contained the proviso that the traveller would not visit Rome or St. Omer, *supra*, p. 22. On W. St. John, see p. 256.  
*at the course you take of being converted to Roman Catholicism.*

P. 327.] *your Father*, probably Sir W. St. John, on whom see 81.

LETTER XXV.—*Lord Deputy Strafford*, see p. 229.  
*Earl of Arundel*, his return is mentioned, Gard. viii. 202.

P. 328.] *French King hath taken Nancy* on Sept. 30, 1633.  
*Viscount Savage is lately dead*, in 1635, see 132.  
*Father-in-law.* Earl Rivers. See 132.

LETTER XXVI.—*Mistress C.* Dan Caldwell's widow.  
*dear Friend your Husband.* Dan Caldwell: he died 13 Nov. 1634. See Morant, *Essex*, i. 220, ii. 219; and *supra*, p. 27. There is an elegy on him in H.'s *Poems*, p. 98.

P. 329.] LETTER XXVII.—*Mr. James Howard.* Probably the dramatist who wrote two comedies in which Nell Gwyn appeared and was seen by Pepys (D.N.B.).

*Banished Virgin.* This work was published by H. Moseley, H.'s publisher, in folio, "The History of the Banished Virgin, a Romance, translated by I. H." It does not occur in Watts, Lowndes, Allibone, or the Dyce or Bliss libraries.

*Every* read "very" as in F.D. PR.

*Eromena*, "For Love and revenge," translated by J. Hayward of Gray's Inn, Lond., fol. 1632, with commendatory lines by H. (Bliss on Wood, iii. col. 752).

LETTER XXVIII.—*Edward Noy.* See Wood, *Athenae*, ii. 583 and 7, *N. and Q.* vi. 297 (C.H.F.). Sir J. Maclean, *Trigg Manor*, ii. 119.

*Ambassador Aston.* Sir Walter, see 165, 190. H. himself refers to his starting for Spain about 30 July 1635 in *Straff. Letters*, i. 446.  
*dirty Town of Paris.* See *supra*, p. 43 for the same description.

P. 330.] LETTER XXIX.—*Sir Peter Wicks*, should be *Wicks* as in ED. PR., see on p. 254, where the name is spelt Wichts.

Sir

*Sir Chas. Morgan.* See on p. 229.

*Lengua.* Lemgo according to Warburton, *Rupert*, i. 83-91, who gives an account of the battle practically in agreement with H.

P. 331.] *Prince Robert, My Lord Craven* was captured, 1638. Sanderson, *Chas. I.*, 220, (C.H.F.); Warburton, *l.c.* i. 90.  
*Brisac.* Alt-Breisach in Baden, besieged and taken by Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Aug.-19 Dec. 1638.

LETTER XXX.—*Sir Sackvil C. Crow*, ambassador to Constantinople and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy. On his wooing of the Widow Bennet see *Proceedings in Kent* (C.S.), xv. (C.H.F.); *Court Chas. I.*, i. 437. See also Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 344, 349; *Nicholas Papers*, 78; *Straff. Lett.* pass. *excellent a Lady.* Mary, daughter of Sir Geo. Manners and sister of the eighth Earl of Rutland (Collins-Bridges *Peerage*, i. 447).  
*Warfurzee.* See *Strafford Letters* (C.H.F.).

P. 332.] *Walstein.* Known now as Wallenstein (1583-1634), or properly Waldstein; an account of his death is given in *Strafford Papers*, i. 216.  
*Col. Butler*, said to be Devereux in Warburton, *Rupert*, i. 90, but H. is confirmed by the *Strafford Letters*, *l.c.*; and by Gindely, *Thirty Years' War*, ii. 186.

LETTER XXXI.—*Dr. Duppa.* Brian Duppa (1589-1662), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Chichester, 29 May 1638, Salisbury, 1641, Winchester, 1660. Mentioned both by Evelyn and Pepys. Cf. Ferrar, *Lives*, 136.

*Mr. Ben Johnson* died 6 Aug. N.S. 1637.

*Jonsonus Virbius* appeared in 1638 about the beginning of March. See Cunningham's note to the smaller edition of *B. J.* iii. 496, where *Jonsonus* is reprinted, where H.'s poem appears twelfth, on p. 507.

*Sir Thomas Hawkins*, who also contributed a poem, the third, to *Jonsonus*.

P. 333.] *Light read Life* as in ED. PR.

1st May 1636, obviously about two years too early. Besides this, the address is suspicious, as Duppa cannot have been Bishop of Chichester when getting together the laudatory poems in honour of Jonson. The preface of *Jonsonus* is signed E. P., *i.e.*, Endymion Porter.

P. 333.] LETTER XXXII.—*Sir Ed. B.* Mr. Firth suggests that the sentiments of the letter were inspired by Browne's *Religio Medici*, which appeared in an unauthorised form in 1642. I confess I cannot see the resemblance.

P. 334.] *custom in Poland.* This was used in the great speech of Eliot's, 26th Jan. 1629 (Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 416), which Howell, who sat in that Parliament, may have heard.

P. 335.] *Cinque-Ports are open.* The five senses. The same *équivoque* is employed by H. in his *For. Trav.*, ed. Arber, 12.

*quietus est.* This the technical term for a receipt in full (hence our "quits") in the old Latin Treasury accounts, which were often by tally, *i.e.*, notched pieces of wood split in two.

P. 336.] *every day in the week in a several Language*, Welsh, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, Greek probably.

*motion of the tenth Sphere.* Cf. *Batman vppon Bartholome*, Lib. VIII. c. vi.

P. 337.]



P. 337.] a *Brownist's*. See on p. 29.

LETTER XXXIII.—*Simon Digby, Moscow*. See p. 210, and cf. *Straff. Letters*, i. 439. He went to Moscow as a Consul at the cost of the Muscovy merchants (*Straff. Lett.* 435).

*Mr. Pickhurst*, otherwise unknown, so far as I can ascertain.

*Bishop Lord-Treasurer, Juxon*, Bishop of London, who was Treasurer for a short time in 1636.

*Metropolitan at Lambeth*. Laud.

P. 338.] *The Sovereign of the Sea*. This vessel is referred to by Evelyn in his *Diary* several times (*Chand.*), 24, 563. A poem about her is quoted in *Hist. MSS. Com. X. iv. 21*. H. makes a further reference to *Edgar* in *Discourses*, 32.

*one whole year's ship-money*. D'Ewes, *Autob.*, ii. 129, reckoned this at £320,000, four times as much as H., who estimates it elsewhere at 2½ subsidies (*infra*, p. 657); Warwick has £236,000, *i.e.*, 57.

*Ranulphus Cestrensis, i.e.*, Ralph Higden of Chester whose *Polychronicon* was the favourite *Weltgeschichte* of the Middle Ages in England. Holinshed i. 339 (reprint 1807), makes it a fleet of 1600.

*four Kings*. Holinshed's accounts vary between 6 and 8 (i. 205, 694).

*Sophy of Persia*, whom we now call the Shah. Herbert in his *Travels*, 129, which H. read, has a similar account of his titles.

P. 339.] LETTER XXXIV.—*Dr. Tho. Prichard*. See on 31.

*Scale*, there is probably some pun implied here on the name of the "fatal individual." But H. is possibly only using *scale* in its Latin sense of *ladder*. *who got the Persian Empire*. This seems like a reference to Darius Hystaspes, but differs from the account in Herod. iii. 84.

*the Bath*, the place we now simply call Bath.

*Brecknock*, another point in favour of making H. a Brecknockshire man.

*Sister Penry*. H.'s sister Anne, who married Hugh Penry, who is mentioned *supra*, 129.

*thirteen Shires*, including Anglesey (F. Moryson, *Itin.* iii. 143).

LETTER XXXV.—*Sir Kenelm Digby*. See on p. 191.

*divers Baths abroad*, also discussed in *Germ. Diet*, 36.

P. 340.] *Vierbio* read *Viterbio* as in *Ed. Pr.*

*Dr. Jordan*. Dr. E., whose *Discourse of Natural Baths* appeared in 1631.

P. 341.] *agent spirit and patient matter*, a piece of Aristotelian metaphysics with reference to the *vous nous*.

*Motion is the fountain of heat*. Seemingly an anticipation of Prof. Tyndall's *Heat as a Mode of Motion*, but in reality it is quite scholastic and unscientific, the motion being between spirit and matter!

LETTER XXXVI.—*Sir Ed. Savage at Tower-Hill*, brother of Sir Thomas, to whom so many letters are addressed. See on p. 249.

P. 342.] *Mr. James Dillon*, probably related to the Lord Dillon who is one of the signatories in *Straff. Letters*, ii. 346, at Dublin in 1639.

*brother Payn*. Probably the J. Payne of Nichols, *Prog. Jas. I.*, ii. 145, 650; brother = brother-in-law.

Sir

*Sir Paul Davis.* Clerk of the (Irish) Council of State. He became Principal Secretary of State in 1661 (Haydn, *Dignities*, 445).

*Sir Will Usher*, brother of the Archbishop.

succeed *Sir William Usher*. As a matter of fact, H. ultimately got an appointment for a similar post to the English Council of State.

LETTER XXXVII.—*Dr. Usher* or *Ussher* (1580–1656). Archbishop of Armagh, and author of the received Chronology of the Scriptures put in the margin of ordinary Bibles. (Cf. Herbert, *Autob.* 198; Fairf. iii. 150, and an interesting description of him, Brereton, *Travels*, 139.)  
*Your learned Work.* *Eccl. Brit. Primordia* was published in 1639 according.

P. 343.] *Cardinal Barberino*, or *Barberini*, was an authority on English affairs. Forster, *Five Members*, 225 n. H. translated a letter to him (Bibl. List, Nos. 19, 24).

*Works of Fastidus.* The *De Vita Christiana*, previously included among St. Augustine's works, was vindicated for Fastidius by Holstenius, who published an edition in 1636, three years before the date of this letter.

*a strange passage.* The story fills four folio pages of Kuster's edition of Suidas ii. 115–9, but is obviously a mere fable derived probably from some lost apocryphal Gospel.

*Queen is deliver'd of a Dauphin*, afterwards Louis XIV., on 16 Sept. 1638, nearly twenty-three years after the marriage of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, 25 Oct. 1615. The distance between the two dates gave rise to certain suspicions. See Michelet.

P. 344.] *Mar.* 1639. The Dauphin's birth in September would be rather stale news in the following March, yet Usher's *Primordia* bears the date 1639, which would convict this letter of being "cooked" at least, if not of being fabricated.

LETTER XXXVIII.—*Lord Clifford.* See on p. 189. This letter is quoted in Nimmo's *British Letter Writers*, p. 22, probably on account of its Scotch interest. H. was not exactly a Scotophile, witness his *Description of Scotland* (Bibl. List, No. 32).

*Palermo in Sicily*, another reference showing that H. landed in Sicily during his grand tour. See *supra*, 113.

*National Assembly.* The General Assembly met at Glasgow, 21 Nov. 1638, the Parliament in Edinburgh, 15 May 1639.

*Lord Traquair.* Sir John Stuart (†1659), created Earl of Traquair 22 June 1638, was Lord Treasurer-Deputy of Scotland.

*Our Lord of Canterbury.* Archbishop Laud, of course.

*black Dog.* The same anecdote in *XII. Treat.* (C.H.F.).

P. 345.] *Shoe-maker.* This story is repeated in Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables*, No. 494.

*Edinburgh*, 1639, probably about June. H. had probably been sent by Wentworth in connection with the formation of the Army of the North, which fills the latter portion of the *Strafford Letters*.

LETTER XXXIX.—*Sir K. Digby.* See on p. 191.

*fancy of Trees.* H.'s first book, *Dendrologia or Dodona's Grove*, a political allegory (see Bibl. List, No. 1), published in 1640.

*Seralio*, so in ED. PR. spelt *Seraglio*, p. 513.

P. 346.]

P. 346.] LETTER XL.—*Sir Sackvill Crow*. See on 331.  
*naval Fight* beginning 7 Sept. 1639, described in Sanderson, 279 (C.H.F.).  
*in the Downs*. The Spaniards were driven under the Dover coast, and afterwards twenty-three were sunk in the Downs. Cf. Sanderson, *Lc.*, and add Warwick, *Memoirs*, 105, 130.

P. 347.] *Sir John Penington*. See on 289.  
*Oquendo*. Cf. Whitelocke, *Memorials*, f. 31.  
*Nardic*, probably misprint or mistake of ED. PR. for Mardyke (C.H.F.).

P. 348.] 114 *Sail*, "near a hundred sail," says Sanderson, 280.  
*Brother Edward*, previously mentioned, *supra*, p. 265.

LETTER XLL.—*Sir J. M.* May possibly be Sir T. Middleton, brother to Sir Hugh, who went in deeply for alchemy.

'*tis costly*. H. brings the same objection against "chymistry" by which he means alchemy, in his *For. Tr.*, ed. Arber, p. 80. Cf. too *Germ. Diet*, p. 20.

*Sixtus Quintus* (1521–90), the Pope who excommunicated Elizabeth. Her nickname for him refers to the throws at dice. The book presented was, according to Mr. R. Steele, J. A. Augurellus *Chrysopaia*, 1517. The Pope was Leo X., not Sixtus (Tiraboschi, *ap. Biog. Univ.*, s. v. Augurello).  
*Magistery*. The full command over the secrets of nature. See on p. 435, and the whole letter II., 42, which is full of alchemical expressions.

P. 349.] LETTER XLII.—*Simon Digby*. See on 210.  
*Catalonia*, submitted to France in 1640. H. discusses the causes in his *Lustra*, 128.

*King of Portugal*. Duke of Braganza was proclaimed John IV. 1 Dec. 1640.  
*Bean-cake King*, another name for the Lord of Misrule and similar mock royalties. Brand-Ellis, *Antiquities*, i. 275.

P. 350.] *this Breach*. The Solemn League and Covenant.  
*The Ship Swan*. Mentioned as trading with Lucar. *S.P.*, Sept. 1634, p. 221.

P. 351.] *Sir K. D.* Kenelm Digby. See on 191.  
*John Pennant*. Taken from *Relation of a serpent found in the left ventricle of the heart of John Pennant*, printed in 1636 and republished in *Somers Tracts*, ed. Scott, v. 558 (C.H.F.).

*In the Air*. A similar account is given in App. H. to Nugent's *Hampden* (C.H.F.), from a contemporary pamphlet, *A Great Wonder in Heaven*, 1642.

P. 352.] *outrag'd in his house*. Cf. Evelyn, *Life of Laud.*, p. 425 (Monday, 11th May 1640).

*Capt. Mahun*, or rather Lieut. Will. Mohun. *Cal. State Papers*, 1640 (C.H.F.).

LETTER XLIV.—*Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (1681–1648), philosopher and adventurer (D.B.N.)

*Doiona's Grove couch'd in French*, by M. Bardouin, according to Sir K. Digby. See Supplement, No. xxii.

*Academie des beaux Esprits*, the French Academy, founded by Richelieu 1635. Howell gives it the same name. *German Diet*, 44; a further reference, p. 510.

*Cardinal de Ruelle*. Readers of the standard French history of this period, *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, might mistake the Cardinal mentioned here for Mazarin. Howell, however, again refers to the interview in the Dedicatory Epistle to *Lust. Lud.*

P. 353.] *Caga-fuego*. "A Spanish word signifying Shitefire" (Phillips, *World of Words*), or, as we say now, Spitfire. One of the Spanish ships captured by Drake was called *Cacafuego*.

*De veritate* was published in Paris 1624, so it was somewhat late for the Paris wits to have discovered its beauties.

LETTER XLV.—*Mrs. Elis. Altham* (†1662), third daughter of Baron Altham of the Exchequer. She married three times, like her father (Foss, *Judges*, vi. 50–1). This letter is quoted by Scoone's *Eng. Lett.*, No. lix. p. 79.

*Lord Robert Digby*, her second husband (Collins-Brydges, *Peerage*, vi. 376), died June 6, 1642, which should fix the date of this letter.

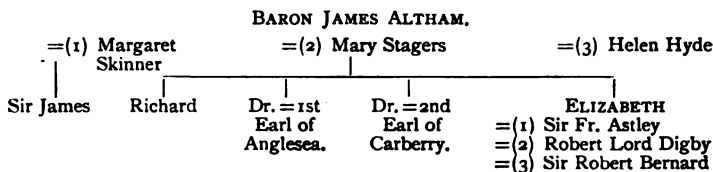
*Baron your Father*. For whose life see Fors. *Judges* vi. and D.N.B.

*Sir James*, her half-brother. See on p. 34. His death, in 1623, is mentioned *supra*, 182.

*Master Richard Altham*. H.'s friend and companion on the grand tour. See *supra*, p. 33, and Index.

*Sir Francis Astley*, her first husband, a Kt. of Hill Morton, co. Warwick.

1 Aug. 1624. The year is right, but the condolence would be rather stale in August. This letter is so full of references to the Altham family, that its allusions will be best elucidated by the following genealogy:—



P. 354.] LETTER XLVI.—*Sir P. M.* Sir Philip Mainwaring, as we learn from the "Table" of ED. PR.

*Sir Edw. Nicholas*, succeeded Windebanke as Principal Secretary of State in 1641 (Haydn, *Dign.* 171).

*Clerkship of the Council*. H. gives an account of these assurances in the Enclosure to his Petition to be confirmed as Clerk to Chas. II. (Suppl. No. xvii. p. 666).

*Duke of Espernon*. The same anecdote is told *Lustra Lud.* 123, where it is remarked that he was over 100 years old.

*de la Valette*. Told in *Lustra Lud.* under the year 1638, *l.c.*, 122. Cf. *S.P.* Oct. 21, 1638, "The Duke de la Valette, fled out of France, is landed privately in Cornwall."

P. 355.] *E. of Leicester* did succeed Strafford in 1641, but he never went over to Ireland.

7 Sept. 1641. This would serve for the change in the Lord Lieutenantcy, but the De la Valette incident must then have been introduced.

LETTER XLVII.—*Earl of B[ristol]*. See on p. 160. This letter was No. lv. in ED. PR.

*seiz'd on all my papers*. This was evidently the object of the capture, the hope of finding material incriminating to the Royalist cause.

P. 356.] *the Committee* appointed to examine Delinquents or Recusants. *some papers of mine*. Probably relating to his secret missions to Ireland, Scotland, and France.

Mr.

*Mr. Corbet* was the usual agent in such matters, being the chairman of the notorious Committee for examination which dealt so sharply with Lilburne and others. See Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii. 517, *S.P. pass.* Miles Corbet was one of the regicides, and executed as such after the Restoration (see Biography in D.N.B.).

*report to the House.* The result seems to have been the definite order for his committal, entered in the Commons Journal 14 Nov. 1642. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlii. 20 Nov. 1643. The year is obviously wrong, and if H. could make a mistake on such a point, it is useless to expect anything like accuracy on points affecting him less deeply.

LETTER XLVIII.—*Sir Brevis Thetwall.* Should be Sir Bevis, as in the Table of ED. PR. A brother of Sir Eubule. See on 104. This letter was No. liv. in ED. PR.

*Peter House in London.* The chapel in the Tower is called *St. Peter ad vincula.*

2 Aug. 1643. H. forgets that he had fixed upon November for the date of his imprisonment. It is perhaps worth remarking that *Lovelace's To Althæa in prison*, in which occurs the celebrated "Stone walls do not a prison make," appeared in his *Lucasta*, published in 1649.

P. 357.] LETTER XLIX.—*Mr. E. P.* Endymion Porter. See p. 535. This was Letter No. xlvii. in ED. PR., and the following letters are two less in enumeration till the end of this part.

*old fellows.* Such kidnappers were called "spirits" a little later, *S.P.* 1661-8, Pref. p. xxviii. (C.H.F.)

*miraculous passage in Hamelin.* It is doubtful whether Browning got his *Pied Piper* from H. here, or from Verstegan's "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence" (whence probably H. got it), or from Wanley's *Wonders of the Little World*. See the elaborate list of occurrences of the legend in Dr. Furnivall's *Browning Bibliography*. This letter is quoted by Dr. Furnivall, also in Nimmo's *British Letter Writers*, p. 23. It is referred to in the *Spectator*, No. 5, which may be derived from H.

P. 358.] *in that Town they date their bills.* Cf. Browning.

They made a decree that lawyers never

Should think their records duly dated

—unless there was a reference to the date, 22 July 1376.

*story is engraven.* Cf. again Browning,

They wrote the story on a column.

LETTER L.—*Lord G. D.* George Digby, eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, who succeeded him as second Earl. He died 1676.

*sayings in Seneca.* I cannot find them in *Seneca et Syri Sententiae*, ed. E. Swedenborg.

P. 359.] *A Tale of an Ape in Paris.* Did Swift get his adventure of Gulliver in Brobdingnag from this? In some of the apocryphal lives of Cromwell a similar tale is told of his youth (C.H.F.).

*Aurrian IV.* Pope 1154-9. I cannot trace this saying.

P. 360.] LETTER LI.—*Sir Alex. R.* Sir Alexander Ratcliff, as the "Table" of ED. PR. informs us.

P. 361.] *Iliacos intra muros.* Hor. *Ep.* I. ii. 16.

LETTER LII.—*Mr. John Batty*, or Battie. See Wood, *Athena*, ed. Bliss, iii. 752. This letter was prefixed to Batty's book.

*The*

*The Merchant's Remonstrance*, not mentioned by Lowndes or Watt, according to Bliss, *Athena*, iii. col. 752, it was published in 1648, *i.e.*, three years after the first book of H.'s letters—which is absurd.

P. 362.] *Walls of this Kingdom*. Perhaps the earliest reference to England's fleet of Themistocles' saying about Athens' wooden walls.

P. 363.] LETTER LIII.—*Mr. E. P.* Endymion Porter. See p. 535. *Pope Urban VIII. is dead*, on 29 July 1644. His Italian poems were published 1640, his Latin ones, from which H. quotes, in 1642. *no Pope yet arrived*. Pio Nono broke the record in this respect. *Cardinal Pamfilio*. Giovanni Battista Panfilì (1574–1655). *Innocent X.* succeeded Urban, 15 Sept. 1644.

P. 364.] *Sir Kenelm Digby* was sent to Rome by the English Catholic Committee sitting in Paris in 1645 (D.N.B. s. v. p. 63<sup>a</sup>).

*Covert Baron*. Law term signifying "covered by the protection of her husband," "baron" being old legal for "husband." Cf. 5 *N. and Q.* vii. 148, 211.

P. 365.] LETTER LIV.—*Lord Bishop of London*. William Juxon, 1582–1663, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, became Bishop of Hereford in 1633, and was translated to London the same year. He was present at Charles I.'s execution.

*White Staff*, the mark of the Treasurer, which office Juxon had held for the year 1636 (Haydn, *Dignities*, 108).

*Marq. Pawlet*. H. probably means W. Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, 1551–8.

P. 366.] *by being a Willow*, a reference of course to the fable of the *Oak and Reed*.

LETTER LV.—*Sir E. S.* Probably Sir Ed. Savage, see on p. 249. *Dutch word*. H. probably means the German.

LETTER LVI.—*Tho. Ham[mon]*, as we have it in the "Table" in ED. PR.

P. 368.] LETTER LVII.—*Phil. Warwick*. See on p. 293.

P. 369.] *these thirty months, i.e.*, about April 1645, would be thirty months from Nov. 1642.

*Los Pattucos*. H. gives practically the same account in *For. Tr.* 51.

*Cabin upon the upper Deck*, this is probably to be taken literally as a room on the upper floor.

*Master Hopkins*, there is a letter to him later, 521, where see.

3 Nov. 1645. The first edition received the "Imprimatur Nat. Brent June 9, 1645," which makes the reference to thirty months having elapsed rather sailing close to the wind.

P. 370] LETTER LVIII.—*Sir Ed. Sa[vage]*. See on 249.

*thirty one months* would be May 1645, sailing again very close to the month of publication fixed by the censor's imprimatur. See on 369.

*quadrat*

*quadrat solid wise men.* The Laureate's "four square" suggests itself, the reference is ultimately Platonic. "Quadratus" is used for "strong" in Suetonius, *Vesp.* 20 (Dr. Gow).  
*involve in his own virtue.* Hor. *Carm.* iii. 29, 54.  
*fractus illabatur orbis.* Hor. *Od. III.* iii. 7.

P. 371.] *Lycanthropy*, the learned word for the condition of the wehrwolf.  
 1 Dec. 1644. Does not agree with the reference to thirty-one months of imprisonment.

LETTER LIX.—*Mr. E. P.* Endymion Porter. See on p. 535.  
*Leuantanse los muladeres*, Sp. "The muleteers go up and the walls go down."  
 2 Jan. 1644, i.e., 1645.

LETTER LX.—*Tho. Young.* Probably Milton's friend (Mason, *Life*, i. 32-7, 172-3; ii. 533). See on p. 263. Comp. with this letter the one above to Vaughan, p. 219, and that in the Supplement.  
*past the Meridian*, I should say so: H. was about fifty-two at the time of writing.

P. 372.] *a huge Hill situated South-East*, has been taken to refer to the Bryn, but may be somewhere near Abernant. See *Introd.* p. xxiii.

P. 373.] *Cadet.* His brother Thomas was older than he, and likewise his brother Howell, but he had at least two younger (*supra*, p. 265).  
*Ground upon Parnassus.* Can scarcely be a reference to *Dodona's Grove* in prose. Refers perhaps to the *Vote* (B.L. No. 3), and to miscellaneous verses scattered about.

*divers children.* The Bibliographical List gives 13 numbers before the first edition of the *Letters* is reached.

*French.* The French translation of the *Dendrologia* (B. L. No. 2).

*Latin.* H. may refer to his feats during the Danish embassy; otherwise nothing is known of any Latin work of his at this date.

*Italian.* H. translated from the Italian *St. Paul's late Progress* (B. L. No. 13).

*English.* B. L. Nos. 1, 3-12.

*speech it was of the Cynick*, quoted again, *supra*, p. 58, where see.

*modern physician.* An undoubted reference to Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (cf. "his own religion") Pt. II. § ix. "I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction."

*Paracelsus.* Bombast (1493-1541), Prof. of Natural Philosophy at Basle, professed to be able to make *homunculi*, if not men. See also Browne, *Rel. Med.* i. § 36, whence H. got the idea. Dr. Greenhill refers to Paracelsus' *Opera*, vi. p. 201, ed. Frankf.

P. 374.] *nine long lustres*, i.e., 45 years: I should think so, as H. was 52 at the time.

## BOOK II.

This was published in 1647 as a "New Volume of Familiar Letters." See Bibliog. List, No. 21. It was dedicated to James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. The advertisement of the printer (see Suppl. II., No. xxxi., p. 682) declares that the letters were taken from those previously retained when H.'s papers were seized. See Introduction, p. lxxix.

P. 375.] LETTER I.—*Master Tho. Adams*, afterwards Lord Mayor of London, (cf. Pepys 501, *Letters* (Cam. Soc.), *pass.* Gard. x. 29).

LETTER II.—*Mr. B. J.* Ben Jonson.

P. 376.] *Anser, Apis, Vitulus*, similar reference on p. 556.

*A Royal Architect.* Inigo Jones, of course.

*F. B.* Short for "Father Ben."

*Mr. Jones.* Inigo Jones. See a reference to this quarrel, p. 324 and notes.

P. 377.] *Copies of the Satire. The Tale of a Tub*, first published 1633.

*Lost some ground at Court.* See P. Cunningham's account in his *Life of I. Jones* (O. Shaks. Soc.).

3 July 1635 should have been 1633.

LETTER III.—*D. C.* Daniel Caldwell. See on p. 27.

*C. Mor.* Obviously from what follows a Christopher Mor, but neither Lowndes nor Allibone know of such an English author.

*Kit*, short for Christopher. Surely H. is not referring to Kit Marlowe, died 1593.

P. 378.] *Alchoran.* The first English translation of this appeared in 1646 (C.H.F.). This might seem to imply pre-dating of this letter; but see next note.

*black Bean.* Taken from the same statement in Sandys, *Travels* (1615), p. 41. I cannot trace any ground for the statement in Mahomedan tradition.

LETTER IV.—*T. D.*, probably the Tom D. referred to in the letter to Dr Prichard, *infra*, 382.

*First, Strongest, and Wisest.* Adam, Samson, and Solomon.

P. 379.] *nature of woman.* Cf. H.'s equally ungallant account in *Therologia*, 59.

*One Hair of a Woman.* Possibly the source, certainly a parallel, of Pope's "And woman draws us with a single hair." *Rape of Lock*, ii. 28.

P. 380.] LETTER V.—*G. G.* George Gage, a travelling agent frequently mentioned in the memoirs of the time (Rushw., i. 23, 66, 131; *Court Jas. I.*, ii. 219, 323, 341, 414. (H. K.) add Bacon, *Letters*, vii. 429, 431; Cam. Soc., *Letters*, 129).

*R. Grosthead*, the well-known Bishop of Lincoln, 1175–1253. H. is probably referring to his celebrated letter to Innocent IV. Ep. cxxviii. of Luard's edition in the Rolls series. References to Lucifer occur there, pp. 434, 435.

P. 381.] *Lady Elizabeth Cary*, mentioned Nichols' *Progr. Jas. I.*, ii. 674 n. There is a letter to Lady Mary Cary, *infra*, 598.

Mr.



*Mr. Hoskins.* Preface to Gard., ii. 249; Nichols, *l.c.*, i., xix. n., 128, iii. 5; perhaps also in *Court Jas. I.*, i. 390.

P. 382.] LETTER VI.—*Dr. T. P[richard]*. See on p. 31.

*T. D.*, probably the same to whom the letter is addressed, *supra*, 378.

P. 383.] LETTER VII.—*T. B.* Cannot well be Tom Bowyer, who was a captain.

LETTER VIII.—*Dr. B.* This gentleman, one suspects, was an ancestor of Mrs. Harris, known to Mrs. Gamp. There could have been no reason for concealing his name. However, there is a reference to a Dr. B. on p. 640. Mr. Firth suggests that H. wanted to leave the impression that he was in correspondence with Dr. (Sir) Thomas Browne.

*Gresham College.* The earlier meetings of the Royal Society were held here.

P. 384.] *Judaism.* Cf. with this the letter above to Lord Clifford (I. vi. 14), p. 312 *seq.* Mr. Firth points out that this and the succeeding letters were adaptations of Brerewood, *Enquiries touching the Divinity of Languages and Religions*, 1614.

P. 385.] *Phœnician*, referring to Sanchoniathan, who impressed Dr. Primrose so much.

*Josephus saith*, only that they remain in the land of Syria "to this day," *Ant.* I. ii. *ad fin.*; he says, however, that he had seen the pillar of salt of Lot's wife (*ib. c. xi.*). Howell perhaps confuses the two.

*Cabal.* See on p. 315.

*Three Sects.* See on p. 315.

*Cacams, lit.* "wise." H. got the word, as most of his information about the Jews, from Sandys, *Travel*, 114: a query was asked on the word, 5 *N. and Q.* vii. 148.

*Amurath gave Mendez the Jew.* See Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden.* Cf. Harl. MS. 471, Nos. 65–71, also *Jew. Quart. Rev.* ii. 293. H. gets the information from Brerewood, p. 92, who quotes "Boter. Relat. p. 3, l. 2, de Giudei."

P. 386.] *Dominions of England.* Mr. L. Wolf has shown that there were always a number of Jews in England between the expulsion in 1290 and the return under Cromwell. See his paper in *Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers*, 1888. One of these, Dr. Lopez, is referred to by H., p. 269.

*Brokers.* Sandys refers to this function of the seventeenth-century Jew, *Travels*, 6th ed., 115.

*Tribes.* See on this p. 314 note.

*other ten.* Strictly speaking nine, but Joseph's sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, are reckoned as two tribes. The lost Ten Tribes have been located everywhere, literally from China to Peru.

*run their course.* The River Sambation, which plays a large part in the legend of the Ten Tribes.

*whence they expect.* This location of the Messiah is derived from Sandys, 114.

P. 387.] LETTER IX.—*Dr. B.* See on p. 383.

*K. Lucius.* His correspondence with Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome (c. 167 A.D.), is referred to in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 4. Mrs. Hutchinson refers to the legend, *Life*, ed. Firth, i. 8 and n.

*Proto-*

*Proto-Christian King.* Lappenburg is inclined to believe in the authenticity of Lucius (*Eng. under Anglo-Saxons*, i. 48). H. uses the expression again, *Germ. Diet.* 36.

*Apostles.* A reference probably to Joseph of Arimathea and his bringing the Holy Grail hither.

P. 388.] *Habassin.* Sandys uses the same name for the Abyssinians, *Travels*, 133, whence H. may have got his information, as with so much of his Oriental lore. H. refers to circumcision among them in *For. Tr.* 57.

P. 389.] *Habassia.* See *supra* on p. 388.

*Observingst Travellers,* possibly Sandys and Moryson (*Itin.* i. 233), whose travels were much used by H., as we have seen.

P. 390.] *In Asia Russia.* Poland and Lithuania made such a large bite out of European Russia, that it is not strange to find the remainder included in Asia.

*Zocotora, i.e. Socotra.* On the history of Christianity in that island see Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 400; and cf. Herbert, 25. The passage is from Brerewood, *l.c.* p. 73, "But on the E. side of *Afrigue*, excepting only *Zocotora*, there is no Christian isle." B. quotes "Paul. Vinet. l. 3, c. 38," *i.e.* Marco Polo.

*Quinsay in China*, the old capital, and in Marco Polo's time the most populous city on earth. See plan in Yule's edition, vol. ii. p. 194; and cf. also Herbert, *Travels*, 137.

*Chingis* or Genghis Khan, the great Tartar conqueror, 1163–1227.

*K. of Tenduck.* H. is very nearly right about Prester John, so far as the latest researches, *e.g.*, of Zarncke and Col. Yule, go. He may have got the view from Herbert, *Travels*, and cf. H.'s *For. Tr.*, edit. Arber, p. 57. *Scaliger would have it.* H. got this from Brerewood, *l.c.* p. 74, who quotes in margin, "Scaliger *De Emend. Temp.* Annot. in comput. *Æthiop.*"

P. 391.] *Castilia del oro*, "otherwise termed *Nuevo Reino*," says Brerewood, *l.c.* 77, whence H. got his erudition.

LETTER X.—*Dr. B.* See on p. 383. Again from Brerewood.

P. 392.] *no Jew is capable.* This piece of information is derived from Sandys, *Travels*, 42: "No Jew can turn Turk till he first turn Christian, they forcing him to eat Hogesflesh and calling him *Abdulla*, which signifieth son of a Christian; who, after two or three days abjuring Christ, is made a *Mahometan*."

*Alfange*, a mistake for *Alfaqi*. See 5 *N. and Q.* vii. 148, 516.

P. 393.] *the Persian*, who is of the Shiite sect.

*Cambaia.* A survival of this kingdom occurs in the Gulf of Cambay, or it may refer to Camboia, near Siam, the country whence *Gamboge* comes. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Camboia. (Add Herbert, *Travels*, 42.)

*Bengula.* This form for Bengal was the usual one in H.'s day. It occurs in Herbert, *Travels*, 200.

P. 394.] *Ports of Banda*, from Brerewood *l.c.* p. 85.

*eight wives.* This is twice too much. Brerewood *l.c.*, p. 85, only says "many wives" but otherwise gives the same account of the spread of Islam as H.

P. 395.] *in the Alcoran.* This depends on what is meant by Angelical Joys.

LETTER

LETTER XI.—*Dr. B.* See on p. 383. Again from Brerewood's *Inquiries*.

P. 396.] *Corelia*. H. got this straight from Brerewood, who says *l.c.* p. 67, "But toward the North Lappia, Scriefinia, Bearmia, Corelia, and the North part of Finmark (all of which together pass commonly under the name of *Lapland*)."

*Biarmia*, also known as *Permia*, that part of Russia to the east of the White Sea.

*Scriefinnia*. See passage from Brerewood quoted above.

*Finmark*, not Finland, for H. refers rather to Lapland. Finmark is the extreme north province of Norway.

*Kingdom of Congo*. See Pigafetta's *Kingdom of Congo*, translated by Hutchinson, 1881, showing how much of modern knowledge about Congo was possessed by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Cf. Brerewood, *l.c.* 69, "Congo and Angola, which, An. 1491, beganne first to receive Christianity."

*Cingapura* = Singapore.

P. 397.] *Morduits*. The Mordvins, a Turanian tribe in Russia: on their folklore see J. Abercromby in *Folk-Lore Journal*, vii., and *Folk-Lore*, i. Brerewood refers to them *l.c.* 91, as "both baptised like Christians and circumcised like Mahometans."

*Cardi*. Coords or Kurds, as it is variously written; they are referred to as Coords, *supra*, 176, Brerewood.

*Druci*. The Druses in Lebanon.

*Kerns*. I can find no confirmation of this very interesting and curious fact.

P. 398.] *India*. The view that all knowledge comes from India is shared by many nowadays. The same history of human knowledge is given again by H., *For. Tr.* 14; also *Poems*, p. 29, "On the Progress of Learning." H. got the view probably from Herbert, *Travels*, 1634, p. 36.

*Brachmans*. This form of Brahmin comes from the Greek through the Latin. It is used also in Herbert, *Travels*, 36. (Add to Yule's exx. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v.)

*Hermes Trismegistus*. Quoted again, 533, 631.

33rd Century from the Creation, *i.e.*, 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries B.C. H. naturally follows the chronology of his friend Usher.

*one of his letters*. Now recognised as a fabrication: the passage H. quotes would be a sufficient proof of this.

*Secretaries of Nature*. H. uses this fine expression again, *Therologia*, 55.

P. 399.] *We read that the Gauls*. In Cæsar, *B. G.* vi. 13.

*The Altar*. Acts xvii. 23.

P. 400.] *Southern Clime*. In all old maps there is a continuous belt of land round the Southern Pole which was called Terra Australis, and from this imaginary cap of land Australia gets its name.

P. 401.] *requested the fifth part*. H. says the tenth, *infra*, p. 516.

P. 402.] LETTER XII.—*T. W.* The only suggestion I can offer as to the identity of T. W. is that he was one of the Wroths of Petherton Park of Castle. Cf. p. 519 and pp. 495, 536.

P. 403.] *an Italian*. Cf. the similar characterisation, *supra*, 95. *The French*. Cf. *supra*, 96, and F. Moryson, *Itin.* III. i. 3. *Foy* farewell banquet.

LETTER

LETTER XIII.—*Sir Tho. Hawk[ins]*, author of *Unhappy Prosperitie*, 1632, and translator of Horace, 1635.

*B. J.* There is no doubt that these initials refer to Ben Jonson. There are letters to him in this collection, pp. 267, 322, 376, and H. wrote a poem in *Jonsonus Virbius*. Masson, *Life*, i. 393, quotes this description from H.

*T. Ca.* Perhaps T. Carew, one of the "Tribe of Ben." There is a letter to T. C. in Book IV., *infra*, p. 627, but this cannot well be Carew, who died 1639, *ætat.* 50. Carew was of the Herbert set. *Cf.* Herbert, *Autob.*, ed. Lee, xxvii. 170 n. T. Cary is another and more likely candidate for identification. See on p. 627.

*forbid self-commendation.* Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*

**P. 404.]** *Jamque opus.* Ovid, *Metam.*, xv. 871.

*Exegi monumentum.* Hor. *Odes*, III. xxx. i.

*O fortunatam.* The line is known from Juvenal, x. 122, from Cicero's lost - poem "De meis Temporibus."

LETTER XIV.—*J. P.*, probably J. Price, H.'s nephew. See on p. 194. *Gravesend.* See note on p. 22.

**P. 405.]** *Hoghen-Moghen.* The regular phrase for "Dutchies." See *Hudibras*, ii. 115. It is used in the S. P. for 1645, p. 520. Scott uses it under the form "Hogan-Mogan" in *Peveril of Peak*, c. xxii.

LETTER XV.—*Capt. B.* The only Captain B. with whom H. is elsewhere in correspondence is Capt. Bowyer. But the terms here are more distant than in those addressed to him, *e.g.* 97.

**P. 406.]** LETTER XVI.—*Thomas W.* See on p. 402.

*Dr. H. King's Poems.* H. King (1592-1669), afterwards Bishop of Chichester. His poems were published in 1657, and must have been seen by H. in MS. He was of the Tribe of Ben and contributed to *Jonsonius Virbius*.

*Mrs. A. K.*, obviously the Mrs. Ann King of the poem. "Mistress" was applied to maiden ladies, as here.

**P. 407.]** *F. C.* Perhaps the F. Coll. of Letter XXVI., *infra*, p. 418.

*Platonick Love.* See on p. 317, and add that there are three poems on the subject in Herbert of Cherbury's *Poems*, ed. Collins.

*T. Man*, perhaps one of the Mansels. He is obviously the T. M. of p. 520.

LETTER XVII.—*Lord C.*, perhaps Lord Carlingford (see on p. 225), or perhaps Lord Carlisle (see on p. 130).

*Two sayings.* Both given by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, 28, from H.

*My Lords, stay a little.* Given in Bacon's *Essay On Dispatch*. In his *Apophthegms*, No. 76, it is attributed to Sir Amyas Paulet.

**P. 408.]** *the Spaniard.* "Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch," says Bacon, *l. c.*

**P. 409.]** *Quodam cum strepitu*, this is at the side in ED. PR. The reference is to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 18, 30, § 74. The mulberry was only introduced into England in 1607, according to Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, *Cookery*, 149.

LETTER XVIII.—*Sir J. Brown*, mentioned in Herbert, *Autobiography*, ed. Lee, pp. 28, 81 n.

*Catalonia.*

*Catalonia.* See on p. 349, from which it appears that the date of this letter is suitable enough.

P. 410.] LETTER XIX.—*Capt. C. Price*, brother of J. Price and nephew of Howell. He is mentioned in Forster, *Five Members*, 338; Elliot, i. 425; Herbert, *Autob.*, ed. Lee, p. 186. He was killed at Maidstone (*Fairfax Papers*, iii. 33). He was "cousin" to H., either as related to the Price who married H.'s sister Rebecca, or the Ap-Rice who espoused his sister Roberta. See Pedigree.

*Fortify nor fiftify.* This anecdote is quoted by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, p. 28.

P. 411.] LETTER XX.—*Cousin J. P.* See on pp. 194 and 378.

P. 412.] *answer a Letter.* A different account of Italian civility in this regard is given by Sir H. Yule in the Preface to his *Marco Polo*. *Anatomy-Lecture.* Evelyn actually saw dissections at a private lecture. *Diary*, 11 Apl. 1649.

*Plowden*, meaning Plowden. See *supra* on p. 33.

LETTER XXI.—*Nephew J. P.* Evidently the same as the preceding, viz., John Price.

P. 413.] *swallow of them*, perhaps a reminiscence of Bacon's advice about study, which H. quotes in *For. Trav.* 22.

LETTER XXII.—*Sir Tho. Hau[kins]*. See on p. 86.

P. 414.] LETTER XXIII.—*Lady Elizabeth Digby*. See on p. 353.

P. 415.] *left Ventricle.* H. was a friend of Harvey (see 623), and may have been acquainted with his views on the circulation of the blood, in which the left ventricle of the heart plays so important a part.

LETTER XXIV.—*Sir J. B.*, probably the Sir J. Brown of II. 18, p. 409.

P. 416.] *Q. Zenobia.* H. again refers to this unsavoury topic, 567. Montaigne also refers to it.

*Roman Empress.* Probably Messalina is referred to.

P. 417.] LETTER XXV.—*P. W.* Philip Warwick. See *supra*, p. 293.

*Baucis.* Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 631 seq.

*Super omnia.* *Ibid.*, 677-8.

*Two Treasurers.* Probably Marlborough and Portland. See on p. 248.

P. 418.] LETTER XXVI.—*F. Coll.* Probably identical with the F. C. of 407, but otherwise unknown to me.

*Courtesans.* See *supra*, pp. 86, 209.

*Vesuvius*, erupted in 1631 (Phillips, *Vesuvius*, 47), so that the date of this letter seems concocted.

*Near the Terceras, i.e., the Azores*, but there are all kinds of fables about islands in the Atlantic. Cf. J. Winsor, *Hist. of America*, i., 46-57.

P. 419.]

P. 419.] LETTER XXVII.—*T. Lucy*, one of the Herbert set, and mentioned frequently in the *Autobiography*, ed. Lee, pp. 107–111, 127, 272. *Husbands get*. This kind of “action at a distance” is referred to in *Therologia*, 88.

*Weapon Salves*. A reference to the celebrated “powder of sympathy” of Sir Kenelm Digby, first tried on H. (See Supplement II., No. xxii.), and cf. *Therologia*, 133; Butler, *Hudibras*, I. ii. 228–40; Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, vi. 262, Note IV., and 2 *N. and Q.*, iii. 315. Dryden used the idea and the name “weapon salves” in the first two scenes of the fifth act of his perversion of the *Tempest*. Cf. Pettigrew, *Medical Superst.*, last essay on Sympathetic Cures, pp. 157–67.

*Fish more salacious*. Falstaff does not think so, 2 Henry IV., iv. 3, “Making many fish-meals . . . they get wenches.” According to Jewish medieval folklore (*Rokeach*, § 394), a bridegroom should eat fish on the second day after marriage. The Friday fish diet of Jews is somehow connected with the superstition, yet the Catholic Church connects fish-diet and continence. Cf. Badham, *Fish Tattle*, 76.

*Lady Miller*. The wife either of Sir Robert (Nichols, i. 218 *n.*) or of Sir John (*l.c.*, iii. 524). A Captain Miller is mentioned later, 627.

P. 420.] *Chrystal glasses*. See on p. 66.

*Mithridate*. An aromatic electuary supposed to contain the celebrated antidote to poisons invented by Mithridates. Cf. Littré *sub. voce*.

*T. T.* No identification suggests itself to me.

LETTER XXVIII.—*T. Jackson*. Too common a name to identify with any certainty, but probably a relative of Jackson, Bishop of London, to whom H. dedicated the Latin version of his *England's Tears* (see Bibl. List, No. 37).

*Lambeth-House*. Laud.

P. 421.] *Suarez's Works*. F. Suarez (1548–1617), known in England by his *Defensio catholicae fidei contra anglicana sectae errores*, burnt by the common hangman in 1613.

LETTER XXIX.—*Sir Edw. Sa[vage]*. See on p. 249. His death is referred to *infra*, p. 602.

*Grunnius' Testament*. An imaginary will of a pig, given in Topsell, *History of Four-footed Beasts*, 663 (C.H.F.). A query on the subject occurs 3 *N. and Q.*, vii. 179.

P. 422.] *Lord of Cherberry*. Herbert, a friend and correspondent of H.'s, and author of an important philosophical work *De Veritate*.

*Sir K. Digby*. Sir Kenelm was a philosopher as philosophers went in those days, *i.e.* a natural philosopher.

*Lord G. D.* Probably Lord George Digby. See p. 358.

*Mistress A. K.* Ann King, Bishop King's daughter, mentioned *supra*, 406.

*Lady Core*. In ed. II. this is *Cor*, with a space left white. Probably Lady Cornwallis. See on 286.

*Rabelais*, spelt *Rablais* in Ed. II. Ladies scarcely study French to get access to Rabelais nowadays.

*Sir Lewis Dives*. See on p. 428.

*Endymion Porter*. See on 535.

*three Sisters*. H. mentions Mrs. Gwin and Mrs. Roberta Price (Ap Rice) and his niece Banister in his will, *infra*, p. 668. The third sister was Rebecca Howell, thrice married. See Pedigree.

*Cousins*

*Cousins their Children.* This use of cousin for nephew occurs frequently.

Some of these cousins have been already addressed, e.g. the Prices.

*Sir H. F.* Possibly Sir Harry Vane the younger, whose name is often spelt with an F. See the elaborate *Life*, by J. K. Hosmer, 1886.

*this Motto* is actually placed on his monument in the Temple Church.

P. 423.] LETTER XXX.—*Lady Wichts*, widow of Sir P. Wichts, or Wych, on whom see p. 254.

*Master Controuler*, of the Household. See Wood, *Athenæ*, s.v., iv. 489.

P. 424.] *Ambassador at the Port*, in which capacity H. addresses him above, p. 254.

LETTER XXXI.—*E. S.*, *Counsellor*. E. Seys is the only Counsellor with these initials in Foss' *Judges* for the Commonwealth period, vi. 415.

P. 425.] LETTER XXXII.—*R. B[rownrigg]*, though one of the same name occurs at the end of this letter, probably a relative. The name is given in the Table of ED. PR.; he was a Counsellor of Law; married Mary Bloss (? Blois) of Belstead; lived at Rishanger, and died at Beseley, 1669. Page *Suffolk*, p. 484.

*multiplying glass.* Microscope invented by Jansen about 1590.

P. 426.] *R. Brownrigg*. Probably a relative of the addressee, and of Bishop Brownrigg of Exeter, on whom see Wood, *Athenæ*.

LETTER XXXIII.—*Capt. C. Price*, a nephew of H.'s. See on p. 410.

*bring it o'er the helm*, a technical term in alchemy for distilling out of the retort over into the alembic (Mr. R. R. Steele).

*resurrection to mortified vegetables.* Paracelsus claimed to burn a plant to ashes, and then revive it. Cf. *Rel. Med.* i. § 47, and Wilkins' note. Sir H. Power, in writing to Browne (Wilkins, i. 358), calls it "the reindivdualling of an incinerated plant."

*green Lyon and Dragon*, terms applied to the sublimation of the salts of mercury. One of Ashmole's treatises in his *Theatr. chem. Anglicanum* is *The Hunting of the greene Lyon*.

*Powder of Projection.* The powder which, by removing the imperfections of the baser metals, would project them into the nobler.

P. 427.] *Cardigan silver Mines.* These have again been worked quite recently. Sir Hugh Middleton made his fortune out of them and lost it on the New River. He exhausted the mines, which accounts for the failure of H.'s friends. Cf. Hunt, *Brit. Mining*, 152, who quotes Waller, *Account of Cardigan Mines*.

LETTER XXXIV.—*Lord of Cherberry*. Herbert of Cherbury. See on p. 352.

P. 428.] LETTER XXXV.—*R. B[rownrigg]*. See on p. 425.

LETTER XXXVI.—*Sir L. D[ives]*, a full biography of whom appears in *Gent. Mag.*, July-Dec. 1819. He is mentioned in Evelyn, the *Strafford Letters*, and Bayley's *Tower* (H. K.). Add *Gard.* x. 192; *Nich.* iii. 604, 820. The passage in Evelyn (6 Sept. 1651) gives an interesting account of his escape before execution. Life in D.N.B., s.v. Dyve.

*Lewis XIII.* H. refers to his work *Lustra Ludovici* (see Bibl. List, No. 16), which appeared in 1646, which agrees with the date at the end of this letter.

P. 429.]

P. 429.] *Sir J. St[rangways]*, who was in the Tower at this time (Bayley, *Hist. of Tower*, 574), and was a brother-in-law of Sir L. Dives (Gardiner), and was captured together with him at the surrender of Sherborne Castle in 1645 (Hutchin's *Dorset*, iv. 273).

*Sir H. V.* Probably Sir Harry Vane. See on p. 422.

LETTER XXXVII.—*R. B[rownrigg]*. See on p. 425.

*Master Bloys.* See on p. 494 (Brownrigg married a sister of his).

LETTER XXXVIII.—*G. C.* Possibly one of the Carys, with whom H. was in close relation, or possibly a misprint for G. G., George Gage, p. 380.

P. 430.] *Legend of Conanus*, which occurs in Godfrey of Monmouth, and thence gets into the Lives of the Saints through Baronius, or so it appears from Butler, *Lives of Saints*, s. v. Ursula, Oct. 21.

*Ursula.* The 11,000 is supposed to be a folk-etymology of Onidesima, one of the companions of St. Ursula.

*Colen.* This form is used by Coryat, *Crudities*, iii. 1. Cf. Germ. *Köln*.

P. 431.] LETTER XXXIX.—*End. Por.* Endymion Porter. See p. 535. *of the late King her Brother.* Louis XIII., brother of Q. Henrietta Maria. H. refers to his *Lustra Ludovici* (Bibl. List, No. 16).

P. 432.] *Aviso's Sp. News.*

*L'Sperance, i.e., "L'Espérance,"* the motto of the Order of the Thistle in France, established by the Duke of Bourbon in 1370, and hence adopted by the Bourbon family. Cf. Dielitz, *Wahl-und Denksprüche*, 1884, p. 88.

LETTER XL.—*J. H[all]*. John Hall of Durham, not to be confused with Bishop Joseph Hall, the satirist. Probably the same mentioned in Worthington's *Diary*, 7, 10, 15, 17. See also on p. 492.

*Essays.* Hall's *Horæ Vacivæ, or Essays and some occasional considerations*, published in 1646.

P. 433.] LETTER XLI.—*my B[rother], the L[ord] B[ishop] of B[ristol].* makes his approach. See the same expression p. 429. Probably a reference to Charles I.'s being brought south after being sold at Newcastle, Jan. 1647.

P. 434.] LETTER XLII.—*Sir L. Dives.* See on p. 428. This letter, Mr. Steele assures me, is full of correct alchemical phraseology.

*refine the dross and seculency.* This was the object of the alchemists, the prevailing view being that all metals were gold, with more or less of "leprosy," which could only be cleared away by fire.

*Chymist calls it.* Paracelsus, who compares the "leprosy" of the baser metals to original sin, only to be removed by purgatorial fire.

*Perillus Bull.* Perillus was the statuary who made the brazen bull for Phalaris, and was the first victim offered up in it (*Gesta Romanorum*, No. 48).

*in ventre equino, i.e., in horse dung* used to produce slow distillation.

*antequam corvus.* An expression used, Mr. Steele tells me, by E. P. Philalethes (*i.e., Geo. Starkey*).

*five times, i.e. 750 days, or a little over two years.* This is incongruous with later statement of 55 months, *i.e., 4½ years*.

*distillation, sublimation, &c.* Cf. Ripley's *Twelve Gates of Alchemy* in Ashmole, *Theatr. chem. Anglic.*

P. 435.] *Magistery.* Another name for the philosopher's stone, according to Meyer, *Hist. of Chemistry*, 40, but see on p. 348.

*Treacle*



*Treacle of this Viper*, i.e., a *theriacal* antidote against the *θῆρ*, i.e., the serpent. Treacle was originally an electuary made of pounded vipers, used as an homœopathic antidote against snake poison. According to Littré (s.v. *theriaque*) it was invented by Nero's court physician. Our treacle is merely the syrup or mother liquid in which the antidote was taken.

23 Feb. 1645, should be 1647, on the face of the statements in the body of the letter.

LETTER XLIII.—Lord R[ivers], probably.

*Catholick King*, of Spain.

a fatal year, 1646.

lost *Dunkirk*, to Condé on Oct. 12, 1646.

P. 437.] *Chapines*. D'Ewes mentions that these were worn by Spanish ladies, *Autob.* ii. 448; Coryat, that they were used by Venetian courtesans, *Crud.* ii. 36. Evelyn describes them as "high-heeled shoes particularly affected by these proud dames," and adds that "courtesans or the citizens must not wear *choppines*." Titian's "Venetian lady dyeing her hair" has laid aside her *chapines*.

*Sister to a King of France*. Isabella of France, married to Philip IV. in 1615. common Enemy of Christendom, the Grand Turk.

*setting upon Candy*, but they took it in 1645, a year earlier than the fatal year, 1646.

*the Peace . . . at Munster*, known as the Peace of Westphalia, which closed the Thirty Years' War, and was signed Oct. 24, 1648, which makes the date at the end of this letter absurd, and the references to the taking of Dunkirk incongruous. The letter must at least have been "cooked."

P. 438.] LETTER XLIV.—E. O. There is no E. O. among the Counsel of Jas. I.'s or Chas. I.'s reign given in Foss' *Judges*. Perhaps Privy Councillor is implied, and the reference may be to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Osborne, mentioned in the *Strafford Letters*, i. 264, 281.

*Dr. Pritchard*. See on p. 31.

P. 439.] LETTER XLV.—J. W. Query J. Wilson, to whom a letter p. 603, where see.

*Mouse in lieu of a Mountain*. A reference to *Parturiunt montes*.

LETTER XLVI.—*Tho. H[ammon]*, according to the Table in ED. PR. See on p. 367. From the tone of this letter it is scarcely possible that T. H. can be identified with T. Hammond the Regicide, for whom see Wood, *Athena*, iii. 499, and D.N.B.

P. 440.] LETTER XLVII.—S. B., probably identical with [the Sam. Bon[ne]] of a later letter. See p. 637.

*Baudius*, Dominic, of Leyden (1561–1613).

P. 441.] *she was a Princess*. Cf. Green's elaborate character in his *Short History*.

P. 442.] LETTER XLVIII.—*Dr. D. Featly* (Fairclough) (1582–1645), full life in Wood, *Athena*, iii. 156–69 (cf. also Masson's *Life of Milton*, ii. 518; Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 332 n.; Worthington, *Diary*, 74).

your

*your Answer*, possibly Featly's *Answer to a Popish challenge touching the true Church*, 1644, but I think it likely that H. is referring to Featly's *Dippers Dipt*, 1645, which contained an answer to Milton's *Doctrine of Divorce*. See Masson, *Life*, iii. 311-12 and n.

*stilted Pamphlet*. If the suggestion in the preceding note be correct, this would refer to Milton's *Doctrine of Divorce*, or to the *Tetrachordon*, in which Milton replies to Featly (Masson, *l.c.*). Milton would then be the "sterquilinous Rascal" and "Triobolary Pasquiller" of this letter. It must be remembered that his *Poems* first appeared in 1645, published by H. Moseley, who was also H.'s publisher.

*pressis agaso*, "threepenny groom," Pers. v. 76.

*Præriego scripturientium*. Sir H. Wotton was the author of this saying, and desired it to be engraved on his tombstone.

LETTER XLIX.—*Capt. T. L[eat]*. See on p. 154.

[P. 443.] *Dr. Burton*, brother of the *Anatomy Burton*, and historian of Leicestershire.

*Master Davies*, probably J. Davies, mentioned as a Counsel *temp.* Chas. Foss, *Judges*, vi. 234.

LETTER L.—*Sir S. C[row]*. See on p. 33. The letter is quoted by Scoones, *Eng. Lett.*, No. lviii. p. 76, and in Nimmo's *Brit. Letter-Writers*, p. 314. *going abroad*. Going out, as we say.

P. 444.] *our Aristotle*. This does occur in the Stagirite; so Dr. Gow thinks the reference is to some English philosopher (Bacon? Hobbes?)

P. 445.] *recarnified*. Cf. "All those creatures are but the herbs of the field digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves." Browne, *Rel. Med.* I. xxxvii. (C. H. F.).

*nearer approach*. Something of the same feeling as appears in Hood's "I remember, I remember the fir trees tall and high."

*rambling meditations*. Mr. Firth suggests that they are an imitation of the *Religio Medici*, and there is certainly a Brownesque tone about the language. Yet some of the most curious words "Animalillios," "Ephemerans," &c., do not occur in Browne, nor do the sentiments exactly. At best, this imitation of Browne would only make the date inappropriate, not necessarily disprove the authenticity of the letter.

P. 446.] LETTER LI.—*Serjeant D.* The only Sergeant D.'s for the whole period, 1603-60, mentioned in Foss as of Lincoln's Inn is J. Denham, 1609, R. Diggs and J. Dany, both 1623 (Foss, vi. 29). But the letter is only a formal or model one, and may have been merely written to fill space.

LETTER LII.—*Lady M. A.* Possibly one of the Althams, but the points of reference are too slight for sure identification.

P. 448.] LETTER LIII.—*W. P.*, should be P. W. as in ED. PR., and then can be identified with Sir Philip Warwick, on whom see 293.

P. 449.] *my dear Phil[ip] Warwick*, clinching the identification. *The Vote*. There was another poem of H.'s with this name published separately (Bibl. List, No. 3), and with the Letters, *supra*, p. 5.

P. 450.]

P. 450.] LETTER LIV.—*Lord Cliff*[ord]. See on p. 189.

*discourse of Wines*, possibly in imitation of John Taylor's *Drinke and welcome, or the famous Historie of the most part of Drinckes in use now in the Kingdomes of Gt. Britain and Ireland*, 1637. I cannot ascertain where H. got his knowledge about Eastern drinks from.

*Italian vineyard-man*. The same saying is quoted from Howell by T. Forde, *Apophthegms*, 28.

P. 451.] *Metheglin*, Welsh, *Medd y glyn*. Cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *Cookery*, 64, 204, for old recipes for making it.

*Usquebagh*, or whisky, of which it is the earliest form. See Mew and Ashton, *Drinks*, 1892, p. 146, for a recipe of *Usquibath or Irish Aqua Vitæ* in 1602, Moryson, *Itin.* iii. 163, spells it *Vsqueboagh*.

*Sir John Oldcastle*, as the original of Falstaff; and in Brewer's tract.

*Smug the Smith*. See on p. 247.

*it perished with them*, an interesting legend how the last Pict kept the secret is told in Chambers's *Pop. Rhymes of Scotland*.

P. 452.] *drink call'd Cauphe*. See on pp. 179, 662. Sandys, *Travels*, 51, gives an account of coffee as an Eastern drink entirely. Sir H. Yule has some interesting quotations as usual, s.v. Coffee.

*Tripe full of Pelaw*. Cf. "Pillaw (Rice sod with fat of Mutton)," Sandys, *Travels*, p. 57. H. uses Sandys frequently.

*Narsingha*. See Yule, *sub voce*.

P. 453.] *Drink called Banque*, known now as *Bang*. See Yule's discussion of the word in *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Bang*.

*holy kind of liquor*. Can this be a reference to tea?

*Nubila promissi*. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 322.

*Legitimation of a child*. The same test is given in H.'s *German Diet*, p. 73.

P. 454.] *Maguais* is the name of the Mexican *agave*, so that H. has made a mistake here, or has misunderstood his original.

*in Egypt*. Herodotus mentions a kind of brew used by the Egyptians. Cf. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen*.

*Pindar's words*. *Pyth.* i. 1.

*Martial's*. Ep. XI. xi. 1, for "torcumata" read "toreumata," as in ED. PR.

P. 455.] *which is the great Continent of America*. All that we call North America was not reckoned, beside the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro.

*Mobbi*, made from the *batata* or sweet potato. Cf. *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbadoes*, 1883, p. 44 (quotation supplied by Mr. H. Bradley).

*Tents*. A kind of wine still used; the term used to be applied to what was called Cape wine. Probably, Mr. Bradley suggests, from *vino tinto*.

*Portugal affords*. This shows that the days of Port were still to come.

P. 456.] *Bachrag*. Bacharach on the Rhine. See also *Germ. Diet*, 18. It is also referred to in Butler, *Hudibras*, ii. 18.

P. 457.] *Psalts*, a misprint for Pfalts=Germ. *Pfals*, the Palatinate. The Palgrave is the equivalent for the Germ. *Pfalsgraf*.

P. 459.] *Ut, Re, Mi*. The musical notes. These are generally traced from Guido's Leonines to St. John, beginning "*Ut queant laxis Resonare fibris*."

LETTER LV.—*Earl K*[ivers]. This and the succeeding letters are a series of discourses on the chief languages of the world, derived from Brerewood, ch. ii.-ix.

P. 460.] *Dr. David Rice*, not given in Lowndes or Watt. Prof. Rhys informs me that the reference is to *Cambrobrytannica Cymraecave Lingæ Institutiones*

*tion*es a Joaane David Rhæso, Lond. 1592, with which H. was acquainted as he quotes from it *supra*, p. 89.  
*fourteen*, enumerated later, 476.  
*Armorican*. Breton; the philological identity is also referred to, *For. Trav.* 48.  
 See also Selden's note on Drayton, *Polyolbion*, ed. 1622, p. 132.

P. 461.] *learned'st of that nation*. Probably Archbishop Usher, with whom H. had some acquaintance.  
*some navigators*. It was mentioned first in Lloyd's *Cambria*, 1584, and thence in Hakluyt, iii. p. 1.  
*Welsh Epitaph*, given in Herbert, *Travels*, p. 216 *seq.*, and thence *infra*, p. 608, where see.  
*Pengwyn*. This example is quoted by Drayton (? Selden), *Polyolbion*, ix., ed. 1622, p. 148, also by Herbert, *l.c.*, *Cf.* too, Butler, *Hudibras*, l. ii. 83, 84.

So horses they affirm to be  
 Mere engines made by Geometry,  
 And were invented first from engins,  
 As *Indian Britains* were from *Penguins*.

*Madoc*, the hero of Southey's poem. On his reputed discovery of America see J. Winsor, *History of America*, i. pp. 109-11.

P. 462.] *Purely British*, referring to the monkish legend which represents her father as a British or Caledonian king.

LETTER LVI.—*Earl R[ivers]*, as on p. 459.

P. 463.] *as also in Persia*. This anticipation of the identity of the Indo-European languages H. got from Herbert, *Travels*, p. 171 *seq.*, and refers to again in *For. Tr.* 57, where he attributes the view that German was spoken in Paradise to Goropius Becanus. *Cf.* too, *Germ. Diet.*, p. 64.  
*Slavonic languages*. All this from Brerewood, ch. viii. "Of the language of the Slavonique, Turkishe, and Asiaticke tongues."

P. 464.] *Alexander the Great*. H. took this from Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, 1617, i. 15.

P. 465.] LETTER LVII.—*Earl R[ivers]*, as before. This letter is from Brerewood, ch. iii. "Of the decaying of the Greeke tongue."  
*Mithridates*, King of Pontus, is said to have known twenty-five (not twenty-two) languages (Justin, xxxvii. 2). Moryson makes the same mistake, i. 22, and handed it on to H. On his antidote to poisons see *supra*, on p. 419.

P. 467.] *Lacocones*, probably a misprint of ED. PR. for *Lacones*. A similar reference, *supra*, 64, under the name of *Zacones*. The information comes from Sandys, p. 63.

P. 468.] LETTER LVIII.—*Earl R[ivers]*, as before. From Brerewood, ch. iv. "Of the ancient of the Roman tongue."  
*Fifty mile compass*. So Evelyn.

P. 471.] LETTER LIX.—*Earl R[ivers]*, as before. This is again from Brerewood, ch. v. "Of the beginning of the Italian, French, and Spanish languages."

P. 472.] *Hetruscan*, similarly spelt in *For. Tr.* 53.  
*Mesapian*, like the Etruscan, now an unknown tongue. H. gets this piece of erudition from Brerewood, p. 45.

P. 473.]

P. 473.] *Bascuenes*. The Basque; H. refers to it again in *For. Tr.* 50. See also *supra*, p. 197.

P. 474.] *Island tied to France*. True, but scarcely within the quaternary period.

*Cæsar* and *Tacitus* say nothing so strong, according to Dr. Gow, *Cæsar*, B. G. v. 14, of the Cantii, "neque multum a Gallica consuetudine differunt;" and *Tacitus* (*Agric.* xi.), "proximi Gallis et similes sunt."  
*Walloon*, the language of French Flanders.

P. 475.] *call'd Franco*. The *lingua franca* of the East. H. refers to this in his *For. Tr.* pp. 45, 52.

LETTER LX.—*Earl Rivers*], as before. Derived from *Brerewood*, ch. ix. "Of the Syriacke and Hebrew tongues."  
*thirteen*. It was fourteen before, *supra*, p. 460.

P. 476.] *Jasygian*. H. probably means Lithuanian, but the Jazyges were a Sarmatian stock who settled in Wallachia, and afterwards in the south, not north, of Hungary.

*Cauchian*. The Czech, a Slavonic language.

P. 477.] *Arabic*. This was probably taken from Herbert, *Travels*, 43-5. H. was acquainted with the book. See *infra* on p. 608.

*language of Paradise*. Cf. Max Müller, *Science of Language*, i. 145-50, for this belief and the curious vagaries to which it led.

P. 478.] *in this language*. Not accurate, as the Talmudic dialect is Chaldaic. *Rabbi Jonathan*, the supposed author of the Targum or Chaldaic paraphrase of the Prophets.

*Rabbi Onkelos* or *Aquila*, the author of the Targum on the Pentateuch. H. speaks of him and *R. Jonathan* as different from the Targum, which shows his ignorance, or rather second-hand knowledge, from *Brerewood*, p. 63.

*Thus we see*. This passage was put into italics by some accident of printing; it is in ordinary type in Ed. PR.

P. 479.] LETTER LXI.—*Car. Ra.* Carew Raleigh, Raleigh's eldest son. The whole of this letter is quoted in *Somers Tracts*, ii. 456-7, at the end of the reprint of Carew Raleigh's *A brief Relation*, 1661.

*one Letter*, I. i. 4, *supra*, 22 *seq.*, which deals with Raleigh's voyage to Guiana. *Historiseth*. A reference, of course, to Raleigh's *History of the World*.

*that Declaration*, given in Harl. Misc. vol. iii. *A Declaration of the Carnage of Sir W. R. . . . and of the true motives which occasioned his Majestie to proceed in doing justice on him*, 1618.

P. 480.] *that Apology*. "For his voyage in Guiana," published in 1650 in R.'s *Judicious and Select Essays*, pp. 1, 69.

*Sir R. Baker* in his "*Historical Collections*," which appeared in 1641, and ultimately formed his *Chronicle of England*. See pp. 437-8 of ed. 1670.

*Capt. Kemys*, called *Capt. Remish* in the earliest letter, p. 24, see note.

P. 483.] *printed Relation*. Probably the Declaration mentioned *supra*, on p. 479.

*faithless cunning Kt.* Sir Lewis Stukeley, generally known at the time as Sir Judas Stukeley, who took money to assist Raleigh to escape after his return from

from Guiana, and then was the means of his being taken. He was convicted of clipping coin, and died at Lundy, as H. mentions. There is an *Apologia* by him in *Somers Tracts*, ii. 444.

P. 484.] *Mr. Nat. Carpenter*, a Devonshire divine (1588–1635), one of the early opponents of Scholasticism. The quotation in the text is probably from his *Geographie Delineated*, 1625.

*Cadet*. See on p. 373.

P. 485.] LETTER LXII.—*T. V[ughan]* probably, on whom see 219.

P. 486.] *horrid Profaneness*, such as that used by Hugh Peters or Peter Smart in their sermons and addresses. Even Milton is an instance of the general low level of controversialist language at this period.

*shops open*. This struck Evelyn also, who notices it on several occasions (Chandos ed.), 224, 226, 254. On Christmas 1657 he was actually arrested for keeping Christmas.

*Earl of Kildare*. H. gives the same anecdote, *Patricius*, p. 13.

*Excise*, established by the House of Commons Jan.–Apr. 1644. See a later reference, p. 492.

P. 487.] *Kentish Knight*. Mr. Firth suggests that this is Sir E. Dering, a full account of whom appears in the Preface to *Proceedings in Kent* (Cam. Soc.), ed. Bruce. He died in 1644, and was certainly a trimmer or apostate, and he died of an imposthume (Bruce, *Pref.* p. 23).

*A Pamphlet*. Two appeared by Sir E. Dering in 1644, the presumable date of this letter, *A Declaration* and *A Discourse on Sacrifice*. Neither refer to H. so far as I can see.

*William Ro*. There is a letter to W. Roberts, *infra*, p. 606.

*Tale of the Gallego*. T. Forde gives this in his *Apophthegms*, 28, no doubt taking it from the *Epist. Hoel*.

*Sir J. Brown*. There are letters to him pp. 409, 415. He is no relation to the well-known doctor, who was not knighted till after the Restoration.

P. 488.] *squares*. The only meaning which suits the context is the application to bodices with square opening in front, used here for the ladies generally.

LETTER LXIII.—*His Majesty at Oxon*. Chas. I. was at Oxford, off and on, Oct. 26, 1643—Apr. 26, 1646. This letter is at once a defence to the king against any charge of lukewarm loyalty, and a hint to the Parliamentarians that H. was not too obtrusively royalist.

*Foreign Minister*. Mr Frith suggests this is Harcourt.

P. 489.] *reflecting on the Times*. A reference to H.'s *Parables reflecting on the Times*. Published in 1643 (see Bibl. List, No. 6).

LETTER LXIV.—*E. Benlowes*, a rather well-known writer of the time. See Mr. Bullen's account in *D. N. B.*, his genealogy in *Essex Visit.* (Harl. Soc.), i. 347, his residence in Morant. Mr. Wheatley refers to him in his book on *Anagrams*. Cf. *1 N and Q*. iii. 287. Evelyn met him on 31 Aug. 1654. H. wrote a commendatory poem on his chief work, *Theophila*.

*Aristaus*, the supposed author of a fictitious letter giving an account of the origin of the Septuagist version of the Old Test.

*Table of Proportions*, properly a mathematical figure. Cf. Gow, *Hist. Greek Math.* pp. 73, 74, but used here for the instrument used in constructing the figure. As Josephus tells the story (*Ant. Jud.* xii. 2), the king desired to have

have tables five times as large as those of the Temple (*cf.* the description of the table, Joseph, *l.c.*, § 9).

*Table of Poems*, probably B.'s *Lusus Poeticus Poetis*, 1635.

P. 490.] *purple Island*, of Phineas Fletcher, an allegorical poem, published 1633; it was dedicated to Benlowes.

*Apollo himself*. Fletcher, who was Rector of Hilgay, co. Norfolk, where he died, c. 1660.

LETTER LXV.—*Lady A. Smith*, probably related to Sir J. Smith of Leeds Castle, to whom Letter I. i. 1. is addressed. See note on p. 17.

P. 491.] LETTER LXVI.—*G. Stone*. Perhaps related to the R. Stone of D'Ewes, *Autob.* ii. 139.

*Irish*. "Now t' Irish or Back-Gammoners we come," *The Complete Gamester*, 1680, poem explaining frontispiece. The game, a sort of back-gammon, is explained, *ibid.*, p. 109. A good deal of discussion has gone on of recent years in *N. and Q.* on "Irish." See No. of 12 March 1892.

*Glaucus with Diomedes* in *Iliad* vi.

P. 492.] *Carates*, should be *caratts*, as in ED. PR.

LETTER LXVII.—*J. J.* Perhaps Joseph Jane, author of *Ikon Aklastos*, 1651, one of the answers to Milton's *Iconoclastes*. But it is possible that the initials are misprinted and should be "J. H." *i.e.* John Hall, for whom see on p. 432. Hall published in 1648, *i.e.* the year after the publication of this part of the *Epist. Ho-El*, "Sparkles of Divine Love" (Lowndes).

*Sparkles of Piety*. *Cf.* title of Hall's book in preceding note. It would still be in MS. when Book II. of *Epist. Ho-El* was published in 1647.

P. 493.] LETTER LXVIII.—*Capt. W. Bridges*. Perhaps he that afterwards became Col. Bridges and Governor of Warwick Castle. *Cf. S.P.*, June 1660 (p. 81). He was a Kentish man from the reference to Maidstone over page. The present letter is supposed to be written in Madrid in 1622, and is certainly full of Spanish lore.

*burnt down*. Riots took place in Feb. 1647. See Rushworth, vii. 792 (C.H.F.).

P. 494.] *war makes thieves*. Quoted by W. C. Hazlitt, *Eng. Prov.* 495. The statistics of crimes of violence in Germany went up alarmingly after the Franco-Prussian War.

*Judge Rives*, probably E. Reeve, Justice of Common Pleas, who died 27 March 1697 (Foss, vi. 357-8).

*Cousin Fortescue*. This should give the clue to both Bridges and his cousin.

LETTER LXIX.—*W. B. W. Blois*. The third of that name who married Cicely, daughter of Sir Thos. Wingfield, and died in 1673. Page, *Suffolk*, p. 53.

*Grundesburgh*, in Carlford Hundred, S.E. Suffolk.

P. 495.] *my trees*. A reference to H.'s *Vocal Forest*.

*Jewel of our times*. Observe how cunningly H. here and on p. 484 repeats and publishes compliments paid him by others.

LETTER LXX.—*J. W.*, probably John Wroth, mentioned in Table of the second edition, having been added to that of ED. PR. See on p. 536.

P. 496.]

1. 496.] LETTER LXXI.—*Capt. T. Porter*. See p. 55. This professes to be a letter of early date, 1622.

*Mr. Gresley*. See on p. 204.

*peak with hands only*. The first book on the deaf and dumb language with fingers appeared at Madrid, 1620, by J. P. Bonet. It has just been translated into English, 1891. Sir Kenelm Digby interested Charles I. in the subject when at Madrid (*A Relation*, quoted D.N.B.).

1. 498.] *black Plush*. Cf. *supra*, p. 46.

*To-Maria-Mas*, literally I will take (*tomaria*) more (*mas*). H. probably learnt much from a Divota himself. See on p. 44.

1. 499.] LETTER LXXII.—*Sir T. Luke*, should be Lake (misprint of ED. PR.). Cf. 3 *N. and Q.* vii. 116. See on p. 276. This letter was written on his marriage, or professes to be.

*your wife*. Mary, daughter of Sir W. Ruther, Lord Mayor of London (Wood, *Fasti*, i. 261), but H. could not have been old enough at his marriage.

*Lord George of Rulland*, the eighth earl, who did not succeed till 1632.

*Hambledon*. H. had bought the advowson of a living there. See p. 266.

*ny voyage to the Baltic Sea*. This can only be the embassy to Denmark, 1632.

1 *May* 1629. Antedated three years if the voyage is the embassy.

1. 500.] LETTER LXXIII.—*R. K.*, probably R. Killigrew, father of the dramatist, mentioned *supra*, 187. Cf. Ellis, i. 144; Grammont, 402; *James I.*, ii. 174, 391, 394, 441 (H.K.); add Gard. v. 429.

*Dr. Baskervil*. Is this the same as the Baskervil mentioned by Nicholls, i. 537 n.?

*to go into the dark*. Cf. Bacon's Essay on Death, *ad init.* "Men feare Death as children feare to goe in the darke."

1. 501.] LETTER LXXIV.—*Sir R. Gr.*, either Sir R. Grosvenor (*Nich.* iii. 753 n.), the ancestor of the present Duke of Westminster, or Sir R. Granville, or more probably still Sir R. Grosvenor the second baronet, who succeeded the first in 1644 and died 1664.

*Maundy Thursday*, i.e. day preceding Good Friday, which would be 15 April in 1647.

1. 502.] *King being Christian*. A reference to the legend of K. Lucius, *supra*, pp. 277, 387.

1. 503.] 30 April 1647. More than a fortnight after Maundy Thursday. H. seems incorrigible about dates.

LETTER LXXV.—*R. Howard*, probably a relative of J. Howard, to whom there is a letter, *supra*, 329.

*T. P.* Can this inconsiderate friend be the Tom Porter who is elsewhere so cordially treated by H.

*comic Poet*. Terence, *Eun.* I. ii. 25, "Plenus rimarum sum; hae atque illae perfluo."

1. 504.] LETTER LXXVI.—*E. P.* Endymion Porter, on whom see 535.

*achagues*. Sp. ailments. Cf. Strafford, *Lett.* i. 206, 225, 263.

*Mestizos*. Spanish, half-breeds.



P. 506.] *now Scot-free*, Dec. 21, 1646, when the agreement for the Scotch army to retire was signed. See Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Letter xlii.

*four and twenty Seas*, or Sees. A reference to the disestablishment of the Episcopacy and the passing of the Presbyterian Platform. See Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Letters xliii. xliv.

*aurum Tolosanum*. Treasure taken from Toulouse by Q. Servilius Calpio, B.C. 106, who subsequently suffered a severe defeat, supposed to be on account of the sacrilege. Gellius, iii. 9 (I owe this piece of information to Dr. Gow).

*Aerians*. See on p. 607.

*one of the prime precepts*, given to his brother Sir George Wentworth to convey to his son (Rushworth, viii. 760). The exact expression was "Moth and Canker."

P. 506.] *multitude of Witches*. A further reference to this, *infra*, 548. The account of witchcraft best known is that of M. Hopkins, *The Discovery of Witches*, 1647.

*button their doublets outwards*. Cf. G. Allen, *Falling in Love*, &c., Essay ii. on Right-handedness, where he notices the same difference between men and women (in England). H. mentions the distinction, *For. Tr.* 31.

*Nine worthies*. Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; Hector, Alexander, Julius Cæsar; Arthur, Charlemaine, and Godfrey of Bouillon.

P. 507.] LETTER LXXVII.—*Sir K. D*[igby]. See on p. 191.

*Landloper*. Cf. *Supra*, p. 103, where I have suggested that this is the source of our expression "landlubber"? H. uses the same expression in his *For. Tr.* 67.

*little world*. The microcosm of one's own consciousness, cf. note on p. 72, and add title of Wanley's *Wonders of the Little World*.

*wisest of Pagan Philosophers*. Seemingly a reference to Solon, but the geometrical reference seems to apply to Plato.

P. 509.] LETTER LXXVIII.—*Sir K. D*[igby], as before.

*That Poem*, probably the *Vote* published Cal. Jan. 1642-3. Cf. text, pp. 5-12.

P. 510.] ADVERTISEMENT. This was attached to ED. PR., and shows H. a pioneer in rational orthography. His suggestions were not uniformly adopted in his own text, such is the force of trade custom.

*Academy of wits*. The French Academy founded in 1635.

### BOOK III.

Published in the Second Edition, 1650, "with an addition of a third Volume of new Letters," and a Dedication to the Earl of Dorset.

P. 511.] LETTER I.—*E. of Dorset*, Edward Sackville, 8th Earl, ob. 1652. An elegy on him, *infra*, p. 642.

*Dr. S. Turner*. Mentioned in Forster, *Elliot*, i. 478 n., 498-9; and Evelyn (Chandos), 495.

*a new tract*. Senault's *L'usage des passions*. H. probably refers to the translation by the Earl of Monmouth, 1649: this was published by Moseley.

P. 512.]

**P. 512.]** *St. Mark bears up* against the Turks, who had attacked Candia. *those of Naples increase.* A reference to the revolt of Masaniello, of which H. translated an Italian account.  
*Emperor of Ethiopia, i.e. Abyssinia.*  
*Quinze.* See on p. 390, and *cf.* Herbert, *Travels*, 131.

**P. 513.]** *Emperor of Muscovia.* Alexis, who ruled from 1645 to 1676; he was Peter the Great's grandfather.  
*Common Fruiterer,* Masaniello who headed a successful revolt in 1647. See H.'s account (Bibl. List, No. 37, 42).  
*Frederick*, afterwards Frederick III., who succeeded to the throne in 1648.

**P. 514.]** LETTER II.—*En. P.* Endymion Porter. See on p. 535.  
*Demicasters.* Hats, it would seem, from the reference to beavers; but Fairholt in his glossary gives it as a short cloak.  
*Charenton.* Evelyn visited one on the Marne 6 Jan. 1644.

**P. 515.]** *Points.* Cf. Fairholt's *Picture of an English Antique* in his *Costume in England*, 248.  
*Bishops' Lawnsleeves.* Dr. Owen, Ch. Ch. Ox., wore "Spanish leather boots with large lawn tops." Fairholt, 251.  
*Boots and Shoes.* Perhaps a reference to the large tops of boots, with "many dozen of points at the knees" (Fairholt, *l.c.*).  
*Not a cross.* An allusion to the iconoclasm of the Puritans, who threw down all crosses, including Q. Eleanor's, which Evelyn saw 2 May 1643.

LETTER III.—*W. B[lois]*. See on p. 309.

**P. 516.]** *Hoties.* Greek, the "because" of things.  
*Old Greek words.* Milton's "And new Presbyter is but old priest writ large."  
*Buchanan* (1506–82), poet, historian, and James I.'s tutor.

**P. 517.]** LETTER IV.—*Sir J. S.*, one of the Royalist *emigrés*. Cannot be the Sir J. S. of I. i. 1, who died 1632. See on p. 17. Perhaps Sir T. Sackville. See on p. 599.  
*panem Dominum.* With the latter noun in apposition implies transubstantiation which *panem Domini* equally explicitly rejects.  
*Cleopatra's Pearl* which she dissolved in vinegar.

**P. 519.]** *Præ quo quisquiliæ cætera*, "compared with which all else is rubbish."

LETTER V.—*T. W.*, probably Wroth. See on p. 402.  
*P. Castle.* Probably a mistake for P[etherton] Park, the residence of Thos. Wroth. See Wood, *Athena*, iii. 514. He translated Virgil.  
*that monster.* H. wrote an account of a similar (? the same) monster under the title *Strange news from Scotland* (Bibl. List, No. 22).

**P. 520.]** *Mr. T. M.* Probably T. Man, to whom there is a reference, p. 407, in a letter also to T. W. Unless both letters are authentic, this is a very artful coincidence on the part of H.

LETTER VI.—*William Blois.* See on 494.  
*Nephew.* How he was H.'s nephew I have been unable to ascertain.  
*five years.* This would fix the date of this letter at 1647–8.

*N.*

*N. Brownrigg.* N. probably stands for Nephew, as Brownrigg's name was Roger.

P. 521.] LETTER VII.—*Henry Hopkins*, is mentioned as being in the Fleet, 369.

'tis good for many things. Kingsley probably got his well-known encomium, put in the mouth of Sebastian Yeo in *Westward Ho*, from this passage; he knew and used the *Epist. Hoel.* See *supra*, 309. Cf. Herbert, *Autob.* 210, and generally the catena of passages collected by Prof. Arber in his edition of James I.'s *Counterblaste*.

P. 522.] *who told me.* The same case is related, *supra*, pp. 282-3.

*taken backward.* Cf. letter to Judge Rumsey, *infra*, p. 663.

*petty conclusion.* This story is told by Oldys in the Life prefixed to Raleigh's *History of the World*, p. xxxii., and is quoted by Prof. Arber in James I.'s *Counterblaste*, p. 88, who also gives H.'s account.

*smutchin*, i.e. snuff. Snuff is taken with a quill by Mr. Henderson in; Mr. Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, p. 156.

P. 523.] *Dr. Thorius' "Patologia."* See Wood, *Athena*, ed. Bliss, ii. 379. The exact title of the book was *Hymnus Tabaci sive de Poeto Libri II.*, Lond. 1627. An English translation by P. Hansted appeared in 1651. *Patumi* = Petun, the Brazilian name for tobacco. Cf. Arber, *l.c.*, 93.

LETTER VIII.—*Lord of D[orset].* Edward Sackville the eighth Earl, died 1652. This letter is mainly an essay on Learning.

P. 524.] *Grosthed.* See on p. 381.

P. 525.] *Another great philosopher.* A mistake of H.'s: it was, of course, Archimedes himself of whom the story is told. Both points are told of Archimedes in Burton, *Anatomie*, I. ii. 3, § 15, the section dealing with "Study a Cause" of Melancholy, which H. may have had in his mind. *conclusum est*, told by Burton, *l.c.*, but his authority is "Fulgosus, l. 8, c. 7."

P. 527.] *Dr. Gwyn.* Probably P. Gwyn, mentioned as a counsel *temp.* Chas. I. in Foss, vi. 235.

*Judge Finch.* Lord Finch of Fordwich, 1584-1660, had the reputation of carrying through the measure of ship-money (Foss, *Judges*, vi. 310-317). He was the successful wooer of the Widow Bennet, beloved also by Sir E. Dering and Sir Sackville Crow (see Bruce's amusing Pref. to *Proceedings in Kent*).

*Phornio before Hannibal.* See on p. 626.

P. 528.] LETTER IX.—*Doctor J. D.* Dr. I. Day according to the Table of the second edition, to which it was added.

*Powder of Projection.* See on p. 426.

*Lunary World.* Bishop Wilkins' *Discovery of a New World . . . another inhabitable world in the Moon*, had appeared in 1638, and doubtless inspired this discourse.

P. 529.] *Bishop's name.* St. Fergil, Bishop of Salzburg, an Irishman who wrote on the rotundity of the earth. Pope Zachary did not *exactly* excommunicate him, but threatened to disrook him if he held there were men on the other side (Dict. Christ. Biog., s.v. Virgilius).

wisest

*wisest of men.* Solomon, but I cannot find the reference, which is probably from the Apocrypha.

*one day certifieth.* Probably meant as a quotation from Ps. xix. 2, in the Prayer-book version, "One day telleth another and one night certifieth another."

P. 530.] *the old world.* Cf. "Antiquitas sæcli juvenus mundi," Bacon.

*first of whom.* This is a mistake of H.'s, confounding Pythagoras with Socrates. It occurs *infra* 598, 637, and in *For. Trav.* 14.

*middle age.* This is putting Plutarch much too late: can H. have confounded him with Petrarch?

P. 531.] *Artificial Prospective.* Galileo applied his telescope to the moon first in 1610. Milton's fine lines on "the spotty globe" refer to this, *Par. Lost.* Cf. also *Lust. Lud.* 107.

P. 532.] *Old opinion* among the Gnostics and Neo Platonists, who were followed by the Cabbalists. The whole of Arabic philosophy is dominated by the conception which was taken from them by the mediæval Jewish philosophers. Cf. Stöckl, *Gesch. d. Phil. im Mittelalter.*

P. 533.] *yours touching Copernicus* and his geocentric views. Cf. note on p. 26.

P. 534.] LETTER X.—*Lady E. D.* Possibly Lady Digby, to whom there are other letters, 353, 414.

LETTER XI.—*R. B.* Might be the R. Baron of the Table; it could also be R. Brown or R. Brownrigg, but is probably a brother Richard of the W. Blois at Grundesburgh, 494, since H. addresses him likewise as Nephew.

P. 535.] LETTER XII.—*En. P.* Endymion Porter. It should be remembered that Digby and Porter, and the whole *entourage* of the Queen at Paris, were Catholics, or nearly so. Endymion Porter, who has accompanied us throughout the *Epist. Hoel.*, is one of the most striking persons of the time. Cf. Fairf. ii. 396, iii. 30; Nichols, iii. *pass.*; Evelyn (Chandos ed.), 200; *Jonsonus Virbius.* H. K. adds Croker, *Bass.* 69; 2 Ellis, iii. 314; *Strafford Letters, Jas. I.*, Sir John Suckling, and Davenant. There is a fine portrait of him by Dobson in the National Gallery.

P. 536.] LETTER XIII.—*John Wroth.* See *supra*, 499. Ben Jonson wrote a poem on his mother, Lady Wroth.

*Petherton Park*, near Petherton, co. Somerset.

*Spartam nactus.* Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 6, the translation of a fragment from Euripides' *Telephus*.

P. 537.] *Your great Uncle.* Probably Sir Roger Wroth the founder of the family. See Collinson, *Somerset*, iii. 68.

LETTER XIV.—*W. B[lois].* See on 494.

*Nephew.* The exact relationship here implied is difficult to ascertain; later on in the letter H. uses "nephew" as the English of *nepos*.

P. 538.] *quarters now.* "In Whitehall, in St. James'," &c. Dec. 2, 1648. Carlyle, *l.c.*, i. 345, on Letter lxxxv. "Pride's Purge" followed soon after.

*Insurance*

*Insurance of ships.* See *supra* on 350.  
10 of Dec. 1647, should be 1648.

LETTER XV.—*Sir K. D*[igby].

P. 539.] *Lycanthropy*, the condition of being a were-wolf.  
*Isle of Wight*, from which the King was taken to Hurst Castle, Nov. 28, 1648.  
Carlyle, *l.c.* Cf. the chronogram in Bibl. List No. 28.  
*first propositions*, query those of the Oxford Negotiations in 1643?  
5 May 1647, pre-dated eighteen months.

LETTER XVI.—*W. Blois*, probably the father of the W. Blois, whom H. addresses as nephew.  
*Suffolk*, Grunesburgh.  
17th current. How can that be when the letter is dated May 7?

P. 540.] *Scots routed*, at the battle of Preston, Aug. 17, 1648. See Carlyle on Letters lxxiii.—vi.  
*Hamilton's Design*. The Duke of Hamilton, who led the Scots into England and at Preston.  
7 May. In obvious disagreement with the statement in the body of the letter about the 17th current.

LETTER XVII.—*R. Baron*. Mentioned by Pepys, p. 48 (Chandos ed.).  
*Cyprian Academy*. Full title given in W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook*. It appeared in 1648.

P. 541.] *Spaniard*. Anne of Austria, Queen Regent.  
*Italian*. Mazarin, at this time at the height of his power.  
*Marquis of Ancres*. See *supra*, p. 39.  
*Nephew*. H. seems to shine in the character of uncle.

LETTER XVIII.—*Tho. More*. Perhaps the crazy person whose character is given by Wood, *Athenæ*, iv. 179. He died 1685.  
*Uncle*. What, again!

P. 542.] LETTER XIX.—*W. B. Blois*. See on p. 494.  
*full of horses* during the predominance of the Puritans. Cf. Evelyn, *Letter* of 18 Dec. 1648.

P. 543.] LETTER XX. Sir Paul Pindar, diplomatist, ob. 1650, just after the publication of this division of the *Ep. Hoel*. H. K. gives references for him to Malcolm's *London*; Rapin. ii. 380; Granger, *Stratford Letters*; *Court of Jas. I.* and Lowndes. Add *Fairfax Letters*, iii. 131.  
*St. Paul's Progress*. See Bibl. List, No. 16. It was published in 1645, and had this and the following letter prefixed.  
"Christ's Passion." *Christus Patiens*. A sacred tragedy translated into English by G. Sandys, 1640.  
25 Mar. 1646. As the book to which this was prefixed was published in 1645, the date is added without thought.

P. 544.]

P. 544.] LETTER XXI.—*Sir Paul Neale*, or *Neile*, mentioned in Wood, *Athen.* iii. 902, 903; North, *Exam.* 60; *Strafford Letters*, i. 516; Evelyn (Chand.), 275; *Hudibras*, II. iii. (he is supposed to be the original of Sidrophel), Nich. iii. 272; Fairf. i. 281, ii. 398. Evelyn, 8 May 1656, calls him "famous for his optic glasses." *as I spake elsewhere. Supra*, 440.

P. 545.] *begins but now in Law.* The legal year begins on Mar. 25, as all know to their cost who have to deal with dates O. S., which require double dating between Jan. 1 and Mar. 25.

LETTER XXII.—*Dr. W. Turner*, mentioned in Wood, *Athen. pass.*; Forster, *Eliot*, i. 478, 498-9; Nich. iii. 120; Evelyn (Chandos ed.), 495. Probably related to Dr. S. Turner of p. 511 *supra*.

*Pengrums.* This is a reference to Lilly's Prophecy of a White King (C. H. F.). Lilly published *A Collection of the Prophecies Concerning these Times*, 1645, and in the previous year *England's prophetic Merlin*, to which H. here refers. There is a further reference to these prophecies in H.'s *Bella Scot-Anglica*, *ad fin.* Lilly got himself into trouble later on by a too accurate prediction of the Great Fire, cf. Ball, *Math. Recreat.* 1892, p. 184.

"*Balaam's Ass.*" "A Vision of Balaam's Ass," by Peter Hay, appeared 1616, according to Watt. Hence the reference to "hay" in the poem. According to Mr. Firth it is a reference to the Earl of Carlisle.

*Mr. Williams.* He was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for writing the "Vision of Balaam's Ass" (Nichols, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 537, who gives full title).

P. 547.] LETTER XXIII.—*Sir Edward Spencer*, son of Robert, Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton.

*near Branceford*, Boston Manor at Brentford, which came into his possession on his marriage with Lady Reade in 1625 (Lysons, *Environs of London*, ii. 45, 555).

*Manuscript you lent me of Damonology.* Possibly Dr. N. Horne's *Damonologie and Theologie*, which appeared in 1650.

P. 548.] *Johannes ad oppositum.* See 3 *N. and Q.* vii. 114. The phrase occurs in the *Zurich Letters*, Grindal to Foxe (Parker Soc.), p. 233 (H.K.). From a later account *N. and Q.*, l.c., p. 187, it appears to be merely a Latin translation of "Jack on both sides," meaning a turn-coat.

*to deny there are witches.* See on this subject Lecky, *Hist. of Rationalism*, i. 46-138. Howell may be thinking of Montaigne, III. iii. *hoiy Codex.* Exod. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 10.

P. 549.] *Marchioness of D'Ancré.* See *supra*, 51.

*execution of Nostredamus* (1503-66). He died at Satow, 1566, and was not executed. His *Centuries* were translated into English.

*St. Paul for a Witch.* Cf. Acts xxviii. 5.

*to buy and sell winds.* Cf. Scott, *The Pirate*.

*Olaus Magnus.* Lit. III. c. xiv., "De magica arte Eriici Ventosi Pilei."

P. 550.] *Plutarch. De Defectu Orac.* c. 17.

*Pan is dead.* Cf. Mrs. Browning's poem. Sir T. Browne has the story in *Vulgar Errors*, vii. 12, and (wrongly) in his *Letter to a Friend*, § 2. Howell got it, as much else, from Sandys, *Voyage*, p. 9.

*Lieut. Jaquette.* See *supra*, 98.

P. 551.] *three hundred Witches.* They were ~~six~~ hundred shortly before. See *supra*, p. 506. two

P. 552.] LETTER XXIV.—*Sir Will. Boswell.* Can this be Bacon's executor? Spedding,

Spedding, *Life*, vii. 539, 552, *cf.* also Worthington, *Diary*, 60, 68, 82; *Jas. I.*, ii. 268; Ellis, i. 195, and *D. N. B.* s. v.

*That black Tragedy.* The execution of Chas. I.

*let blood in the Basilical Vein.* This does not seem to imply any great emotion on the part of H. The "Index" or Table of Contents refers to this letter as follows, "England cured of the King's Evil."

*Mr. Jacob Boeue.* Perhaps an ancestor of the W. Boevey whose widow is supposed to be the perverse widow of the *Spectator*, No. 113. See Morley's note *ad loc.*

LETTER XXV.—*Mr. W. B[lois]*. See on p. 494.

P. 553.] LETTER XXVI.—*R. K[illigrew]*, probably as on p. 100. The sentiments of the letter do H. great credit, but had been anticipated by the catholicity of the *Religio Medici*.

*Themistius.* A philosopher and orator of the fourth century A.D. H. knows of him from Suidas, see next note.

P. 554.] *Praetor of Byzantium*, for Prefect of Byzantium, a post which Suidas erroneously confers upon him (Suidas, ed. Kuster, s.v., *Smith Dict. Class. Biog.* s.v.).

#### BOOK IV.

P. 555.] This appeared in 1655 (Bibliog. List. No. 49). The letters contained in it are more theoretical and less historical than in the preceding books.

LETTER I.—*Sir James Crofts*. It is somewhat doubtful whether this can be the Sir James of Book I., on whom see p. 22.  
*Lempster*, now Leominster, co. Hereford.

P. 556.] *Anser*, *Apis*, *Vitulus*, referred to *supra*, 376.

LETTER II.—*T. Morgan*. See on pp. 427, 520. There is a Morgan mentioned in the Fairfax correspondence.

*Doctor Dale.* Valentine Dale, D.C.L., ob. 1589 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v., which quotes the Hebrew anecdote from H.).

*Brennus.* H. makes the same unfounded statement as to B.'s nationality, *Discourse*, 5. Prof. Rhys writes that the Welsh word *Brenhin*, "a king," was probably the cause of this erroneous idea, which is little more than a folk-etymology.

P. 558.] LETTER III.—*Lady E. D[igby]*, a sister of R. Altham.  
*grows at the foot.* A further reference to Howell's personal acquaintance with Sicily. *Cf. supra*, on p. 63.

LETTER IV.—*Marquis of Hartford*. William Seymour, 11th Earl and first Marquis. He became Duke of Somerset at the Restoration.

P. 559.]

P. 559.] *knee-timber*. A term in shipbuilding for a piece of wood naturally bent at an angle and used for brace and tye.

*Sir P[er]cy] Herbert*, in his *Certain Conceptions or Considerations*, 1652. Gard. ix. 270, refers to him.

*holy Anchorite*. This well-known story has been traced to the East, among others, by M. Gaston Paris, *La Poesie au Moyen Age*, p. 151 *seq.* In England it is well known through Parnell's poem, probably derived from the *Spectator*, No. 237, which took it either from Howell here, or from J. Lacke's *Boke of Wisdome*, 1565 (see *Cens. Lit.* vi. 233), from whom Herbert may have got it.

P. 563.] LETTER V.—*Richard Baker*, probably a son of Sir R. Baker of Chronicle fame. He wrote commendatory verses to the Earl of Monmouth's translation of Bentivoglio's *Wars of Flanders* (Wood, *Athen.* iii. 516 *n.*).

*morning spittle kills Dragons*. On this superstition see Brand-Ellis, *Pop. Antiq.* iii. 141. It is mentioned by Browne, *Vulgar Errors*.

*Ramirams*, a mistake (of ED. PR.) for Ramadams, the great fast of the Mahomedan year.

*Beirams*. Sandys refers to this fast (*Travels*, 93) as the "little Beyram."

*dawn in the morning*. A mistake, if a reference to the day of Atonement, which is a strict fast from eve to eve.

P. 564.] *Henry the Great*. The same anecdote is told *supra*, p. 50.

P. 565.] LETTER VI.—*R. Manwayring*. Probably related to the Sir Arthur M. of p. 266, or to the Sir Philip M., to whom a letter is addressed, p. 354. Perhaps a son of Roger Manwaring Bishop of St. David's, on whom see Wood, *Athen.* iv. 810.

P. 566.] LETTER VII.—*Sir Edward Spencer*. See on p. 547.  
*opinion truly befitting a Jew*. See on p. 316.

P. 567.] *an Empress in Rome*. H. refers to this before, p. 416.

*Zenobia*. Cf. *supra*, 416.

*Queen in England*. Eleanor, wife of Edward I., according to the legend.

*Artimesia*. The same example in *Germ. Diet*, p. 2.

P. 568.] *B. and C.* Bacon and Coke, see *supra*, p. 220.

*Xantippe*. A similar story of her in Gower, *Confess.* III. iii. 1.

*Stroud's Wife*. The same anecdote, *supra*, 220, where see.

*ride upon Coltstaves*, or cuckolds. See Brand, *Pop. Antiq.*, and cf. 1 *N. and Q.* xi. 475.

P. 569.] *eight wives*. A mistake, repeated *supra*.

*poor shallow-brain'd Puppy*. There can be no doubt Milton is meant here, on account of his books on Divorce, *Tetrachordon*, &c., in 1645. H.'s friend Featley was one of Milton's opponents.

*tooting-horn* or *tooting-horn*, but there is obviously some reference to cuckoldom.

*secure their body*. Possibly a reference to the barbarous belts used in the early middle ages, which ensured chastity during a husband's absence. One used to be exhibited at St. Cloud that had been worn by one of the Merovingian queens.

*cornu ferit*. H. was probably thinking of Horace, *Sat.* I. iv. 34, *fenum habet in cornu*.

P. 572.]



P. 572.] LETTER VIII.—*T. Vaughan*. See on p. 219.

*Mrs. E. B.* Did Vaughan have aspirations after the wife of Benlowes, on whom see 489. But "Mrs." does not necessarily imply a married woman at this period.

P. 573.] LETTER IX.—*Sir R. Williams*. Can scarcely be the Sir Roger Williams of Elizabeth's time unless this is a very early letter.

*Recorder Fleetwood*, mentioned in *Foss, Judges*, vi. 36.

P. 574.] *Tom Waters, Mr. Watts*. Scarcely sufficient to identify either of these gentlemen, though the same names appear in *S.P.* for 1631.

LETTER X.—*Sir R. Cary*. Mentioned Forster, *Grand Remonstrance*, 99; Nicholls, iii. 804 n., and *pass.*

*once a year*. A reference to the proverb "Christmas comes but once a year," which must accordingly have been current in H.'s day. Cf. Hazlitt, *Proverbs*,<sup>2</sup> 99.

P. 575.] LETTER XI.—*J. Sutton*, probably a relative of Lord Lexington. This letter was printed as an introduction to a translation of Sandoval's *History of Spain*.

*Mr. Wad[s]worth*. See on p. 184.

P. 576.] *As Cicero hath it*, "Nescire autem quid, antea quam natus sis, acciderit id semper esse puerum." *Cic. Orator*, c. xxxiv. § 120. As H. quotes from memory he probably got it from his friend Archb. Usher, with whom the reading of this sentence was the turning point of his life (*Biog. Brit.* s.v.), and thus, indirectly, the cause of the dates in the Authorised Version of the Bible.

*Murat*, known as Amurath. An account of his accession is given in Sir T. Roe, *Negotiations*, Letter clvi.

*Blazing star in Virgo*, referred to as presaging Q. Anne's death, *supra*, p. 105.

P. 577.] *Mr. Simon Digby*. See on p. 210.

15 Jan. A truncated date, which may account for absence of dates in other letters, H. having put his pen through them all.

P. 578.] LETTER XII.—*Marquis of Dorchester*, previously known to us as Sir Dudley Carleton. See on pp. 274, 487. For another characterisation of Elizabeth see *supra*, p. 441.

P. 579.] *Stubbs and Page*. The former had his hand chopped off for publishing *A Gaping Gulf* against Elizabeth's match with Anjou. Page was the publisher of the pamphlet (*Froude*, xi. 161).

*Sir John Heywood*, also known as Sir J. Hayward. The condemned book was a history of Henry IV., dedicated to Essex. One of Bacon's *Apophthegms* is about him. Cf. Nicholls, *Prog. Jas. I.*, iii. 582.

*Penry, Hugh*. One of the early Puritans, and connected with the Marprelate Controversy. See Arber, *Introd. to Marprelate Controversy*.

*Alured*. See Rushw. i. 91 (C.H.F.); Forster, *Eliot*, ii. 256; Spedding, *Life*, vii. 110.

*quit Havre-de-Grace*, which was retaken by the French in 1563.

P. 580.] *Hans, Jocky, or John Calvin*. Lutherans, Huguenots (?), or Calvinists or Puritans generally.

P. 581.] LETTER XIII.—*R. Floyd*. Probably the Rice Floyd who matriculated at Oriel in 1610 (*Clark, Reg.* iii.).

*Uncle J[ames]*, i.e. cannot well be Howell himself.

P. 582.]

P. 582.] LETTER XIV.—*R. Jones*, author of *The Brutish Gem*, an abstract of the Bible in Welsh verse, Lond. 1652, 12mo, to which this letter of H. was prefixed (Wood, iii. 344).  
*Maternal tongue.* Welsh of course. Eight years later H. published a collection of Welsh proverbs at the end of his *Lexicon Tetraglotton*.

LETTER XV.—*J. Sutton*. See on p. 575.

*Duke of Espemon*, Jean de la Foix. Neither Burnet nor the Brit. Mus. Cat. have anything by him of a philosophical cast.

*Privatio.* All matter before being provided with form is deprived of it: therefore this deprivation of form (*Privatio, στέρησις*) is a universal principle of all matter. So argued the scholastics, and for so arguing were laughed at by Descartes and the Port Royalists.

P. 583.] LETTER XVI.—*Earl of Lindsey*, 2nd Earl of, ob. 1666. The information contained in this letter could have been got by H. from J. Marwood, *Law of Forest*, 1590 (C. H. F.).

*Ricot*, now Rycote, co. Oxford; Q. Elizabeth was once prisoner there.

*Grimsthorpe*, co. Lincoln, four miles from Corby. H. is probably referring to Grimsthorpe Castle, near the hamlet.

*Battel of Keinton*, or Edgehill. As a matter of fact, the battle was fought nearer Keinton than Edgehill (see map in Gardiner, *Civil War*, i.).

*Vocal Forest.* The second title of the *Dendrologia*.

P. 584.] *Forest, Chase, Park.* Buckingham was Warden of the Royal Parks, Chases, and Forests. Arber, *Eng. Garner*, iii. H. gives a list of the various royal forests, &c., in his *Precedency of Kings*, 72–3. Cf. too Oldys, 546.

*Swanmote Court.* To be held in a Forest thrice a year by the Verderers, according to the charter of the Forest. Derived from "Swain," according to Cowel, *Interpreter*, s.v.

*Liber Rufus.* Now being edited by Mr. H. Hall of the Record Office.  
*great Meadow.* Runnymede.

P. 585.] LETTER XVII.—*Mr. E. Field*, son of Bp. Field, on whom see 230. one of Aristotle, also referred to *Germ. Diet*, 53.

P. 586.] *great country.* Lord Mansfield's celebrated judgment was thus clearly judge-made law.

*Bodin.* A quotation from his *De Republica*.

*Three Queen-Mothers*, Catharine de Medici, Marie de Medici, and Anne of Austria.

LETTER XVIII.—*Dowager Countess of Sunderland.* See on 252.

*Venice Looking-glass*, "or a letter written by Card. Barberini." Published under that title by H. in 1648. See Bibl. List, No. 24.

P. 587.] LETTER XIX.—*Earl of Clare.* John Holles twelfth Earl, died 1665. This letter was prefixed to H.'s edition of Cotgrave's French and English Dictionary, 1650. (Bibl. List, No. 34.)

*come frequently.* Cæsar B. G. vi. 13. On Cæsar and Tacitus' statements, see *supra* on p. 474.

*the county was called Wallia.* This is wrong according to Prof. Rhys, Wales, Walloon, and Welschland (for Italy) are etymologically connected, being all

all Teutonic expressions for "stranger," but they are not connected with Gallia, though possibly with the Volcæ, an extensive tribe of early Gauls.

P. 589.] *tied to Gallia.* See *supra*, p. 780.

*Pausanias saith.* The geographer, but I doubt if H. got his knowledge first-hand. Prof. Rhys has looked up the passage for me, Book x. c. 19, and reports it accurate. "Howell is quite right; the Welsh word is *march*, which is our poetry word for a 'horse' and our every-day word for a 'stallion.'"

*pure British.* H.'s examples are unfortunate—*airain* from *as*, *havre* from Teut. *hafen*, *putaine* is common Romance, *prou* is an interjection.

*Baragouin* may possibly be Celtic, but is not French but recognised to be Breton.

P. 590.] *Emblema.* The story is in Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 71, but Howell has confused it, as the Emperor objected to the word *εὐβλῆμα* in a decree of the Senate.

*Monopolium.* Tiberius apologised for using the word. Suetonius, *l.c.*, (Dr. Gow).

P. 592.] *Gentlewoman.* Marie de France, on whom see my *Æsop*, i., where the same lines are quoted in Moll's text. H. got them doubtless from Pasquiere's *Reserches de la langue française*, ed. 1643, p. 675.

*Geoffrey de Villardouin*, the historian of the fifth Crusade (1167–1213).

*Maratre, Paratre, Filatre*, merely *mère, père, fils*, with the termination *-aster* instead of the prefix *belle* or *beau*.

*crank* is used for merry, but the meaning "bent" will cover both derivatives. *cocu, pleiger, Abry.* H. is fairly correct about these.

P. 594.] *Beffroy.* Littré knows nothing of this etymology of H.'s, but derives it from Germ. *Berg-fried*.

*Lupi illum.* Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 54. cf. Browne, *Vulg. Errors*, III. c. vii.

*Anglois.* Littré confirms H. and gives an example from Marot.

P. 595.] *true sense.* Quite imaginary. It is the past participle of *honni*, derived from Germ. *höhnern*, to mock (Littré). The proper spelling is *honni*.

*beuray'd* is used in this sense in Florio's *Montaigne*, ed. Morley.

P. 596.] *Marshall.* It is just possible that the word may come from the Celtic word for horse, *march*, mentioned by H. above, see on p. 589, and Prof. Rhys' remarks there.

*Majesty.* Littré quotes "Votre Majesté" being used of a dean as late as the fourteenth century.

*divers Dialects.* A fairly accurate and full account.

*Symmachus.* Q. Aurelius (fl. 382), almost the last pagan Pontifex of Rome.

P. 597.] LETTER XX.—*Dr. Weames.* Only known to me as the father of Miss Weames.

P. 598.] *Mrs. A. W[eames]*, who published *A Continuation of Sir P. Sidney's Arcadia* in 1651.

LETTER XXI.—*Lady M. Cary.* Referred to, Nichols, i. 173, 177. This letter is quoted in full, Nimmo's *British Letter Writers*, p. 315.

P. 599.]

P. 599.] LETTER XXII.—*Lord Bishop of Ro[chester]*, John Warner, who held the See from 1637 to 1666.

*Si fractus illabatur orbis.* Hor. *Od.*

*Sir J. Sackvil.* A relation of the Earl of Dorset.

P. 600.] LETTER XXIII.—*Sir W. Mason.* Was knighted 28 March 1645 (Metcalf).

*Second part*, which appeared in 1644 (Bibl. Hist., ed. 11).

P. 601.] *Cardonian.* "Cardonia, Scotland, so-called from 'Cardonas, a thistle.'" Key to *Dodona's Grove*.

*Classican*, not given in the Key.

*Druina.* "England, from a Greek word which signifieth an 'Oke.'" Key to *Dodona's Grove*.

*Basilean*, member of the King's party.

*Arborical*, a reference, of course, to the allegory in which trees are the characters. H. had a Biblical precedent in Jotham's fable, Jud. ix.

*Vatinius*, Publius, a creature of Julius Cæsar's, against whom there is a speech of Cicero's extant.

P. 602.] LETTER XXIV.—*Countess Rivers*, wife of Viscount Savage, was created Countess Rivers for life, 21 April 1641. She died in 1650.

P. 603.] 2 Feb. A discrepancy with the date of the following letter.

LETTER XXV.—*John Lord Sa[vage]*, grandson of Lord Rivers, and one of H.'s old pupils. This must have been written on the death of Earl Rivers in 1639.

10 Dec. Scarcely agrees with date of preceding letter.

LETTER XXVI.—*J. Wilson*, possibly the I. W. of previous letters *supra*, pp. 439, 495, if so he would be of Gray's Inn. The reference, however, to "your Town" shows that he was not a Londoner at anyrate at the time of H.'s writing. This letter is quoted in Nimmo's *British Letter Writers*, p. 22.

P. 604.] LETTER XXVII.—*Sir E. S[pencer]*, as on p. 547, where see.

P. 605.] *Poet-Laureat Skelton.* John Skelton (1460–1529), Poet Laureat to Henry VIII., whose *Workes*, ed. 1568, H. had been clearly seeking for on behalf of Sir E. Spencer.

*skulking in Duck-lane*, now Duke Street, West Smithfield, probably, from H.'s reference, a kind of Holywell Street of the period, where second-hand books could be picked up. Cf. Pepys, 13th April 1668, "To Duck-lane, and there kissed bookseller's wife and bought *Legend*."

*Salve plus decies.* Printed on the reverse of the title-page of Skelton's *Workes*, ed. 1568. See Dyce's edition, i. 177.

LETTER XXVIII.—*R. Davis.* Clearly married to some female relative of H., and so another cousin! Can scarcely be R. Davies of Gwysaney, co. Flint (1616–66), who defended Gwysaney against Parliamentarians.

*Helvetian*, probably identical with the long German mile = 5'743 Eng. miles.

P. 606.]

P. 606.] *Lemster's Ore*. Drayton says in his *Polyolbion*, Song vii.—

“Where lives the man so dull, on Britain's farthest shore,  
To whom did never sound the name of Lemster Ore?”

and goes on to explain that it rivals the silkworm's web for smallness. It was merely a cant phrase for the wool of Leominster, Lempter, or Lemster, co. Hereford. Defoe also used the phrase, Mr. Firth informs me.  
*art of making cheese*. This is confirmed to some extent by the fact that the word itself is derived from the Latin; but it is doubtful whether the Welsh *caws* is not independent.

LETTER XXIX.—*W. Roberts*. Another letter to him, 487. Perhaps to be identified with the W. Roberts who afterwards became Bishop of Bangor.

P. 607.] *Aerians*. So named after Aerius of the fourth century, who denied the superiority of bishops over presbyters, &c. Neander *Ch. Hist.* iii. 461-3. *Chrysostom* held at one time views very similar, (*Hom. ix. on Tim.*).  
*Epiphanius*. Panar. hæx. xv. the chief authority on Aerius.

P. 608.] LETTER XXX.—*Howel Gwyn*. Probably a brother of T. and R. Gwyn, to whom H. writes, *supra*, pp. 170, 216.  
*Herbert's Travels*, p. 216, where the Welsh and English are given. Prof. Rhys informs me that the English version is very free, and the Welsh text very impure.  
*many authors*. In the Pref. to his Welsh Proverbs H. refers to Hakluyt, who briefly notices the tradition, iii. p. 1.  
*creek called Gynadwor*. Herbert, *l. c.*

P. 609.] *Bertrane d'Argentre* (1519-90), author of *Histoire de Bretagne*, whence the ensuing information is taken. Hoel V. was Duke of Bretagne, 1066.

LETTER XXXI.—*W. Price*. Probably related to C. and J. Price, H.'s cousins, to whom there are several letters.

P. 611.] LETTER XXXII.—*Sir K. D[igby]*.  
*Thirty years servant*. H. met Sir Kenelm first in Spain, 1623.

LETTER XXXIII.—*R. Lee*. Probably related to H.'s landlord lawyer Lee in Fetter Lane. See on p. 664.  
*Deeds are men*. Cf. *supra*, on p. 270.

P. 613.] LETTER XXXIV.—*Sir J. Tho[mas]* probably, but the name is not in Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*.  
*late History*. A. Wilson, *History of England, being the Life and Death of King James the First*. Lond., 1653.

P. 614.] 1621. H.'s letter professing to relate the circumstance, as a contemporary witness, is dated 1625 (*supra*, p. 223). The real date is June 1624 (*Fairfax Corr.* i. p. liii.).  
*Peregrin Fairfax*. An account of his death, drawn up by his brother, Sir Ferdinando, is given in the *Fairfax Correspondence*, i. pp. liii.-vi.

P. 615.] *Tho. Webb*. Probably a son of E. Webb, chief master-gunner of France; he was the great friend of P. Fairfax's, and a letter from him on this affair is in the *Fairfax Corr.* liv.

Mr.

*Mr. Hicks*, was a scrivener's son (*Fairfax Corr. l.c.*), and became a knight. H. refers to him and this exploit in *Lust. Lud.* 58, as "*Mr.* (now *Sir*) Ellis Hicks."

*Died of a fever.* A mistake; he died of his wounds at Montauban, *Fairfax Corr.* i. p. lii.

P. 616.] *Sir Ferdinando Fairfax.* Brother of Peregrine, and frequently mentioned (*e.g.* Gard. x. 200).

LETTER XXXV.—*Mr. Lewis.* Perhaps a relation of the Lewis who succoured H. at Lyons, *supra*, p. 95.

P. 617.] *poor Paul's.* See *supra*, 255.  
*touching Judaism.* Mr. L. Wolf has shown that there existed in London a congregation of crypto-Jews long before Manasseh ben Israel thought of coming over. See his *Resettlement of the Jews in England*, 1888.

P. 618.] *Sir T. Williams.* Sir Trevor, mentioned by Carlyle, *Crom.* ii. 7-8.

LETTER XXXVI.—*J. Anderson.* Probably a relative of Sir H. Anderson who was dismissed the Long Parl. for royalism, Carlyle's *List of Members* in Cromwell, vol. iii.

*Roman Church.* These sentiments do H. honour, but Mr. Firth thinks they are but an echo of the *Religio Medici*.

P. 619.] *Uniformity.* Mr. Köppling's Mulvaney claims this for his church, that wherever he may die the same service will be said over him.

P. 622.] *Malignants.* A term that arose in connection with the Grand Remonstrance (C.H.F.). Cf. the long discussion on the term in T. Forde, *Fam. Lett.* pp. 22-5, and Prynne *infra*, p. 680.

P. 623.] LETTER XXXVII.—*Dr. Harvey* (1578-1658), the great discoverer of the true theory of the circulation of the blood (D. N. B.).

*St. Lawrence Poultney*, where Harvey then resided, perhaps to be near Gresham Cottage.

*Dodona's Grove*, which appeared 1640, the second part in 1650 (B. L. No. 35).

P. 624.] LETTER XXXVIII.—*R. Bowyer*, a relation of the T. Bowyer of old days, perhaps the Dr. Bowyer of *Fairfax Corr.* ii. 37.

*new Act.* Scobel, *Acts*, p. 236, 1653, c. vi. It was passed by Barebones' Parliament. See Masson, *Milton* (C.H.F.). Dorothy Osborne has a reference to it in her *Letters*, p. 147. The Act was expunged from the Statute Book at the Restoration: there is a draft of it in *Somers Tracts*. St. John C. J. thus married his daughter (Campbell i. 477). Burton gives the debates on it, *Diary* ii. 38, 39, 44, 67-74, 75, 77, 337, 338.

P. 625.] *Barebone's shop.* The celebrated Praise-God Barebones, whose leather shop was in Fleet Street, at the corner of Fetter Lane (Gard. x. 105), and therefore near Howell's own lodgings. See on p. 664.

LETTER XXXIX.—*J. B.* Probably James Bonnell, to whom H. presented a copy of his *Londinopolis*, with an inscription "For his very worthy friend, Mr. James Bonnell, 5 Nonas Junii 1657" (*Welshman*, May 2, 1891). There is a letter to his father, Sam. Bonnell *infra*, p. 637.

P. 626.]

P. 626.] *Phormio*, a Peripatetic of Ephesus, only known from this story as told by Cicero (*De Orat.* ii. 18). Hannibal's opinion of him was that he was the greatest old blockhead he had ever seen! The story is referred to *supra*, 527.

P. 627.] LETTER XL.—*Major Walker*. He was not one of the Majors-General of whom there is a list in Carlyle, *Cromwell*. Probably a relative of Sir E. Walker, to whom a letter in Supplement, *infra*, p. 664. *Gildas saith*. H. gets this from Usher. *Primordia*, 442. *Capt. Miller*. Perhaps a relation of Lady Miller, *supra*, p. 419.

LETTER XLI.—*T. C.* Query T. Carew, who is referred to as meeting H. at supper at Ben Jonson's (*supra*, p. 403). This letter is quoted by J. Taylor, *Eccentric Letters*, 1824, p. 57. If authentic and addressed to Carew, it must have been in H.'s hands since before 1639, when Carew died. It might also be T. Carey, brother of the Earl of Monmouth, whom H. mentions *supra*, 193; Wood says (*Fasti*, i. 352) he turned out "a most ingenious poet." He died in 1648, so this identification implies a long period (seven years) between the writing and the publication of this letter. *Metheglin*. See on 451.

P. 628.] LETTER XLII.—*Sir E. S[pencer]*. See on p. 547.

P. 629.] LETTER XLIII.—*Lady Sibylla Brown*. Probably wife of Sir J. Brown, to whom there are also letters, pp. 409, 415. *Sherborn*. Probably the Lodge, as the Castle had been taken in 1645 and demolished. *Casaubon Isaac* (1559–1614), well known in England where he died. *Urganda*. A fairy who appears in the *Amadis de Gaul*. *Lady of the Lake*. Vivien is so-called in the *Morte D'Arthur*.

P. 630.] *The Sibyl*. H. could have got his erudition from the Paris edition of the *Oracula Sibyllina*, the introduction to which gives the properties of the traditional Sibylls, but he merely transcribes what is contained in Sandys, *Travels*, pp. 221–3. He used Sandys very much in making up his *Letters*.

P. 633.] *Enoch Evans*, of Shadwell, pa. Chenne, co. Shropshire, was a matricide and fratricide, and this was attributed by some (e.g., Studley in *Looking Glass of Schism*, 1634) to his Dissent; by others (e.g., R. More in *True Relation of the Murders*) to insanity. The murders are referred to by Brereton, *Travels* (Chet. Soc.), p. 187. Evans' confession is contained in *S.P.*, 15 Aug. 1633.

*Marquis of Montrose* (1613–50), was hanged at Edinburgh. H. conveniently forgets the hanging, drawing, and quartering of the English law.

P. 634.] *young King*. Charles II.

LETTER XLIV.—*Sir L. D[ives]*. See p. 428.

P. 635.] *Jett should draw*. Solinus and Priscian noticed the electrical attraction of gages (jet) found in Britain. Attention had been directed anew to the fact by Gilbert, the founder of electricity. Cf. Guillemin, *Electricity and Magnetism*, 139 n.

*Sympathetic*

*Sympathetic powders*, or weapon salves. See on p. 419.  
*German Diet.* H.'s book of that name, published in 1653 (B. L., No. 43).  
*T. B.*, query T. Bowyer.  
*History of Naples.* H.'s *Parthenopæa* appeared 1654 (B. L., No. 48).

LETTER XLV.—*Sir E. S[pencer]*. See on p. 547.

P. 637.] *Microcosm.* See on p. 72.  
*Pythagoras.* The same confusion with Socrates, see on p. 530. There is nothing to this effect in Stanley's *Hist. of Philosophy*, part i. of which deals with Pythagoras, and may have been read by H. as it appeared in 1655 and was published by Moseley, H.'s publisher.

LETTER XLVI.—*Sam. Bon[nel]*. "A wealthy man and stout royalist," says D.N.B. s.v. Bonnel, James. He had been in Italy, at Leghorn and Genoa, hence his knowledge of Italian.

P. 638.] *Italian Manuscripts.* Giraffi's account of Masaniello's insurrection, which H. translated (B. L., Nos. 37, 42).

LETTER XLVII.—*W. Sands.* In *S.P.* 1661–2, there is a petition of a W. Sandys, who may be the same.  
*Power and Wealth.* A remarkable testimony of the influence of Cromwell abroad.  
*the sword.* H. had written on "the Sway of the Sword" (Bibl. List No. 603).

P. 639.] *Don Rodrigo.* Referred to previously, p. 196.

LETTER XLVIII.—*E. of S[underland]*. See on p. 251.  
*Pope sick.* Innocent X., who died 1655, the year of publication of Part iv. of the *Letters*.  
*Donna Olympia* Maldalchina, sister-in-law of the Pope. On her influence with him, see Ranke, *Popes*, ii. 323 *seq.*

P. 640.] *Dr. B.* Can this be the Dr. B. of the four letters on religion, *supra*, pp. 383 *seq.*  
*Huomo de tre Pele.* Curiously enough Bismarck was always a *huomo de tre pele* for the German caricaturists of his late years, but his three hairs were on his scalp.  
*Lustra Ludovici.* H.'s Annals of the reign of Louis XIII., which appeared in 1646 (B. L., No. 16); no second edition ever made its appearance.  
*Survey of Venice.* H.'s *S.P.Q.V.* "a Survey of the Signoire of Venice," 1651 (Bibl. List No. 38).

P. 641.] LETTER XLIX.—*Earl Rivers.* Probably T. Savage, the sixth Earl to come to the title in 1654.  
*Gallery of Ladies.* "The Gallery of Heroique Woemen" by John Pawlet, Marq. of Winchester (ob. 1673). He was married to Lady Jane Savage, one of H.'s old pupils (*supra*, p. 227). Aubrey came across a copy of the "Gallery" and wrote about it to Wood (*Athenæ*, iii. 1005 and *n.*).

P. 642.] *Elegy.* Printed separately under the curious title *Ah! Ha! Thalamus, Tumulus* (Bibl. List, No. 45).  
*E. of Dorset.* See *supra* on p. 511.

P. 644.]



- P. 644.] LETTER L.—*T. Harris*. Probably a relative or (even owing to a misprint) identical with the J. Harris of 244. This one was evidently an old friend who had met H. "abroad under many Meridians."
- P. 645.] *Sympathetic Powder* of Sir Kenelm Digby. It was first tried on H. See Suppt. II. No. xxii. and on p. 419.
- Zephyrian Salt*. I have not met with this name for it.
- Dr. Highmore*. Nathaniel, M.D. (1613–85) one of the earliest English students of embryology and author of a *History of Generation*, 1651, in which he discusses the powder of sympathy (D.N.B.).
- P. 647.] *Doxological Chronogram*. See J. Hilton, *Chronograms*, 1882, p. 10. Mr. Hilton remarks that H. "gives a very bad excuse for a very bad chronogram." The MDLLLLCCVVVVVII. of the inscription make up exactly 1927. Cf. the chronogram in title-page of H.'s *Winter's Dreame* (Bibl. List, No. 28).

## SUPPLEMENTS.

It will be sufficient, in the annotations on the documents contained in these Supplements, if the points in which they illustrate the *Letters* are touched upon to the exclusion of others. In many cases even these are obvious, and nothing need be said.

P. 649.] DOCUMENT I.—*Lord Conway*. See on p. 240. H. must have begun to act as "intelligencer" or spy when this letter was written.  
*Sr. Charles Cornwallises*. See on p. 151. H. was acquainted later with Lady C.  
*James Wadesworth*. Referred to *supra*, p. 184.

P. 650.] DOC. II.—*Earl of Sunderland*. See on p. 251.

DOC. III.—*Mr. Radcliff*, after Sir George, being knighted by Strafford at Dublin 25 July 1633 (*cf.* life in Lloyd, *State Worthies*, pp. 148 seq., and Evelyn, 5 Oct. 1649). This confirms H.'s statement on p. 275, that he had sold his reversion to Radcliff.

P. 651.] DOC. IV.—*Legatio*. H. himself refers to this document in his letter to Lord Leicester, *supra*, p. 322: "a compleat Diary of your own late Legation."

6<sup>o</sup> Decembris. H. says 25th July, *supra*, 290. Is it possible that the further extension was a later grant?

*P. Burllemachi*. See on p. 281.

*Roffam*, Rochester.

*Margetts*. The ordinary spelling of Margate. See Pennington's Log in Suppt. II.

*Convertina*. See the correspondence between H. and Pennington in Suppt. II. The *Convertine* had been to Guinea with Raleigh, *cf. supra*, p. 24.

P. 652.] *Princeps Fredericus* afterwards succeeded his father as Frederick III. *orationem*. An exactly similar account is given by H. on p. 294.

*paginis subsequentibus*. This referred to the remainder of the diary and accounts in the Bodleian MS. There are also several papers in Latin in H.'s handwriting at the Record Office (State Papers, Foreign, Denmark Bundle 9).

P. 653.] *Robertum Anstruther*. See on p. 286.

Doc.

Doc. V.—*Sir F. Windebank*. See on p. 321. Here we have a specimen of H.'s talents as intelligencer.  
*taken Leipsic*. Captured by the Imperialists August 1633. News travelled quickly, to judge by the date of this letter.

P. 654.] *Alderman Freemans*, was Lord Mayor of London. Cf. Stow, *Strype*, v. 153.

2 *English ships*, the *Hector* and the *William and Ralph* (S.P., 23 Aug. 1633).  
*Lo: denbigh*. See on p. 151.

*ye great Mogor*. See note on p. 7.

28 Aug. From the reference in S.P. above it would seem that part at least of H.'s news was five days stale.

P. 655.] Doc. VI.—*Dr. T. Howell*, afterwards the Bishop. See on p. 25.  
*humble servant*. Very much so. The whole letter is a revelation of a subservient sneak. No wonder he got on compared with his volatile brother.  
*Walbrooke*. Dr. H. was Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

P. 656.] Doc. VII.—*Lord Deputy*. Strafford, among whose correspondence this, with some ten others of the same kind from H., occurs (Straff. *Letters*, i. 376, 410, 422, 429, 437, 445, 461, 474, 488, 503, 516, 522, ranging from 5 March 1634 to 15 March 1635.) The other letters to Strafford *supra* 311, 327 are very much in the same scrappy style.

*Prince Palatine*. This is referred to in the *Letters*, *supra*, p. 320.

*Sir John Pennington*. See on p. 289. He was an old friend of H.'s.

*Match with Poland*, between the King of Poland and Prince Palatine's sister. See on p. 326.

*Ban and Arriere Ban*, i.e. the feudal militia and reserve.

P. 657.] *Lord Savage*. Formerly Sir Thomas, and H.'s very good friend.  
*The business*, referred to before in Straff. *Letters*, i. 337.

Doc. VIII.—*Appointment*. This confirmation of H.'s claim to rank as one of the Clerks of Privy Council I owe to the courtesy of Sir C. Lenox Peel, who kindly permitted me to search the Minutes of the Privy Council.  
*Clerk of Council in Extraordinary*. See H.'s own account later, p. 667, "the case truly stated."

P. 658.] Doc. IX.—*Sir J. C.* Probably Sir James Crofts, to whom so many of the letters are addressed. See on p. 22.

P. 659.] Doc. X.—*lyeth at the Cape of Good Hope*. A favourite expression of H.'s. See on p. 218.

*Benoni*. A reference to Gen. xxxvii. 18.

Doc. XI.—*James Duke of York*, afterwards James II. He was about fourteen years old at the time.

*five and fifty months*. This would bring us back to October 1642, near enough for such an inaccurate person as H.

P. 660.] Doc. XII.—*John Selden*, the great scholar (1584–1654). This letter

letter probably accompanied the book, now in the Bodleian, the inscription on which is given in Suppt. II. No. xxxii. It is dated 1652.  
*Ignorance beyond Barbarism.* P. Fisher uses this expression in his encomium on H. ("Testimonia" *supra*, p. xv.) which makes it probable that it was put in his mouth by H. himself.

P. 661.] Doc. XIII.—*Authorities of Mr. Selden.* This accounts for the preceding letter to Selden, which was more business-like than appears on the surface.  
*if the State.* H. was thus evidently prepared to serve under the Commonwealth. In fact his translation of the case of Anthony Ascham was done for the Council of State (See Bibl. List, No. 26).

Doc. XIV.—*Judge Rumsey*, was an old college chum of H.'s. See *Introd.*, p. xxvi.

P. 662.] *Instrument in Munster.* The peace of Westphalia. See on p. 437.  
*Coffee.* Of the introduction of coffee into England there are many accounts, two by Anthony à Wood, *Life*, ed. Bliss, 1848, pp. 48, 60 ("This year [1650] Jacob, a Jew, opened a coffey-house," "Cirques Jobson [1654], Jew and Jacobite, sold coffey in Oxon"). One by Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Forster i. 10 ("one Nathaniel Conopios out of Greece . . . was the first I ever saw drink coffee [1637]"); another in Anderson's *Hist. of Commerce*, 1652 ("Mr. Edwards' Greek servant Pasqua"), and still another in Aubrey's account of Sir H. Blount ("first coffee house was set up by Bowman, coachman to Mr. Hodges, in or about the year 1652"), *cf.* i. *N. and Q.* i. 26, 139, 314.  
*Shastres*, or holy wisdom of the Hindoos, the four Shastras or sacred books. *Cf.* Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.

P. 663.] *worthy gentleman, Mr. Mudiford* afterward Sir James : he thus makes the sixth claimant for the honour. Mr. Lecky has some interesting pages on the important social influence of the introduction of hot drinks into W. Europe, *Hist. Ration.* ii. 336 seq.  
*Concerning Tobacco.* *Cf. supra* p. 521.

P. 664.] Doc. XV.—*Sir Edward Walker* (d. 1677), had been Secretary at War to Charles I., and accompanied Charles II. in exile.  
*late Dissolution, by Monk.*  
*Monk professeth.* This must have been just on the eve of the declaration in favour of Charles II.  
*stylo loci.* "Year X. of the Republic," which such an ardent Royalist as H. cannot bring himself to use.  
*Mr. Lec,* whose widow is mentioned by H. in his will.  
*Pye Inn, i.e.* Magpie Inn in Fetter Lane on right hand side near Holborn.

P. 665.] Doc. XVI.—*Many a Shrew.* *Cf.* with this whole letter the one at the end of Bk. I.  
*Horse in Smithfield.* From F. Moryson, *Itin.* III. ii. 53.  
*one hair of a woman.* *Cf. supra* p. 378.

P. 667.] Doc. XVII.—*Court was at York.* Not true; the event occurred just a couple of days after the raising of the King's standard at Nottingham.

P. 668.] *Sir Tho. Mewtis*, who had been Bacon's secretary.  
*Sir R. Brown.* Scarcely the R. B. of the *Letters*. See on p. 78.

Doc.

Doc. XIX.—*Lord Clarendon*. The great Edward Hyde.

P. 669.] *Great Dictionary*. The *Lexicon Tetraglotton*, dedicated to the King. The dedicated copy is now in the British Museum.

Doc. XXI.—*Will*. Drawn up a few weeks before death.  
*Parish of St. Andrews*. Probably near the Pye Inn, as six years before.  
*large black Marble*. Still extant in the triforium of the Temple Church. See the cut of it in *Intro*d. p. xlix.  
*Howel Howel*. H.'s eldest brother mentioned in *S.P.*, 3 Sep. 1640, as escheator of co. Carmarthen, and dating from Brin-a-Minin, probably the Bryn mentioned *supra*, p. 218.  
*Elizabeth Banister*. Daughter of the Bishop and wife of James Bannister. See Pedigree.  
*Arthur Howell*. Another son of the Bishop.

P. 670.] *Latin Epitaph*. Reproduced in the cut, *Intro*d. p. xlix.  
*Roberta Ap-vice*. I take this to be different from the Rebecca Howell who married John Price.  
*Nephew George*. Son of the Bishop.  
*Thirty pounds in a white bag*. A touch of nature in the weary man of letters, who thinks of his monument more than of aught else.  
*Henry Howell*. Also a son of Bishop T. Howell, who wrote the letter contained above No. vi. p. 655. Yet the chief names mentioned in the *Will*, including that of the executor, are those of the Bishop's children. James was a better Christian than his brother.

P. 673.] Doc. XXII.—This Discourse was published both in French and in English during H.'s lifetime, which to some extent vouches for the authenticity of the anecdote. Where and when to place the incident is more difficult. See *Intro*d. p. xxxv.

*Monsieur Baudoin* (1588–1650), a very voluminous translator from classical and modern languages.

*at Court*. This settles that the incident could not have been in Spain, as Mr. Lee suggests (*D.N.B.* s.v. Howell), and likewise that it could not have been in King James's reign, as I once thought. This fixes the date between 1625 and 1628.

*fighting a duel*. There can be little doubt that Digby is referring to the same duel mentioned by Howell, *supra*, p. 284. Now this occurred when Cottington was in Spain as Ambassador after Buckingham's death, 1629 *seq.*, and Sir Kenelm only returned from his Scanderoon voyage February 2, 1629. Hence it is impossible that Buckingham could have been concerned in this first use of the sympathetic powder. For once H. is a superior authority.

P. 674.] *Powder of vitriol*. Digby's specific seems to have been nothing more: one can quite understand his only using it on wounds from a distance.

P. 675.] Doc. XXIII.—*Secretary Nicholas*. See on p. 354.  
*Capt. Pennington*. See on p. 289 and two following letters.  
*Convertine*. See the Latin account, *supra*, p. 651.  
*Whelps*. See on p. 255.

Doc.

Doc. XXIV.—*Capt. Pennington*. See on p. 289.

*Elsinore, i.e.*, the intention was to go right round to the Sound and travel to Copenhagen. The next letter declares a change of intention, and the voyage is only as far as Hamburg.

Doc. XXV.—*Capt. Pennington*. See on p. 289.  
*Hamborough*, now spelt Hamburg.

Doc. XXVI.—*Capt. Pennington*. As before.  
*reason of the flats*. Pennington had probably reported that he could not lie off Tilbury comfortably.  
*my last except one*. Probably a letter explaining the change from Yarmouth to Tilbury as the chosen port of embarkation.

Doc. XXVII.—*Admiral Pennington's Log*. Inserted here as confirming in every particular the details given by H. of his voyage to Hamburg and back. The Embassy to Denmark is the point in which we can check H. most completely, and on the whole he comes out triumphant.

*Broomsbottle*. Brunsbüttel, just at the mouth of the Elbe, on the right-hand bank, and therefore belonging to Denmark before the loss of Schleswig-Holstein.

*Luxload*. Glückstadt, farther down the Elbe, still on the right-hand bank, and half way between Brunsbüttel and Hamburg.

P. 679.] Doc. XXVIII.—*Sir John Coke*, Secretary of State. His papers, now in the possession of Earl Cowper, have been calendared by the Hist. MSS. Com.

*Sir J. North*. See on p. 54.  
*manuscript of mine*. Probably the *Dodona's Grove*, which is certainly "a historical discourse couched under a disguise." A quotation from it given in *Some Sober Inspections* (B. L., No. 59) is dated 1638.

P. 680.] Doc. XXIX.—*be discharged*. The contrast between the fate of the two Howells is carried throughout the story of their lives.

*Pleasure of the House*. This cannot have been for debt, as Wood hints; there must have been some political motive at the root of it all.

Doc. XXX.—*Prynne* (1600-1669), one of the typical figures of the period, author of *Histriomastix* and a hundred other violent tirades. He roars against H. as mildly as any sucking dove.

*Malignants*. The term really arose during the time of the Grand Remonstrance.

P. 681.] *who had the perusal*. Probably Corbet. See on p. 356.  
*been in army*, at Edgehill, according to Prynne. See next page.

P. 682.] *suppressed at the Press*. This is a new and rather important fact, as showing the weight attributed to H.'s utterances by the Parliamentarians.

Doc. XXXI.—*The Stationer*. Inserted as confirming my views as to the origin of the Letters. See Introd. p. lxxix.

*Moseley*, on him see Introd. p. xliii.

Doc.

Doc. XXXII.—*Dedication*. This settles the dates of the two documents in Suppt. I, Nos. xii, xiii, as written in 1652.

Doc. XXXIII.—*Contemporary Notices*. Rather scanty, I fear, but there was no *Athenaeum* in H.'s days. For a kind of continuance as regards the Letters, see the *Testimonia*, pp. xv.—xx.

P. 683.] *Sir W. Dugdale*, the great antiquary (1605–86).  
*Sir R. L'Estrange*. See on next page.

P. 684.] *Ye Rose*, probably at the corner of Thanet Place with a garden (Wheatley-Cunningham, iii. 172; Larwood, *Signboards*, 126).  
*F. Williams*. Perhaps a relative of Sir R. Williams, to whom there is a letter, p. 573.

Doc. XXXIV.—*L'Estrange*, Sir Roger (1616–1704), one of the earliest of English journalists, was Censor of the Press at this time. He was a reader of H.'s letters, and uses one of his anecdotes in his omnium gatherum of an *Æsop*. See *supra*, p. 345.  
*if he that wrote*. L'Estrange himself wrote the *Caveat*.

P. 685.] *wears a title*. "Some Sober Inspections."  
*another miserable paper*. The "Inspections."

Doc. XXXV.—*R. Loveday*, translator of Calprenede's romance "*Cleopatra*."  
*Mr. H.* I judge this to be Howell by the reference to Cotgrave, which he edited (B. L., No. 34).

P. 686.] *M. Moseley*, Howell's publisher. See Doc. xxxi.

Doc. XXXVI.—*T. Forde* (fl. 1660), author of various things, from plays to characters, which are enumerated in Mr. Lee's Life in D.N.B. s.v. His *Lusus Fortuna* has a Latin poem signed J. H., which may be by Howell, as Mr. Lee suggests, but see next note. Forde makes much use of the *Epist. Hoel.* in his *Apophthegms*, bound up with the *Fam. Lett.*  
*J. H.* There are other letters in the same collection to J. H. on pp. 66, 69, 79; but the two former are to another than our hero, being addressed "honest Jack," and written in quite another strain. The letter to J. H. on p. 79 is to Howell.

Doc. XXXVII.—*Generall*. The title adopted was Historiographer Royal. *Artist this way*. This gives H.'s ideal as an historian (if Dr. Murray will allow me to use the heavy article).

P. 688.] *Sir H. Wootton*. See on p. 65. He was never historiographer, but Thoms' *Book of the Court*, p. 340, asserts that Henry VII.'s poet laureate was also historiographer royal. H.'s epitaph reads "primus in Anglia."

Doc. XXXVIII.—*Payne Fisher*, poet laureate to Cromwell. I fancy that he had little to do with these verses, which were probably Howell's own.  
*Maridunensi*. This should settle the birthplace question in favour of Abernant, co. Carmarthen (Maridunum in Latin).  
*Montaccola*. This should give the name of H.'s birthplace: unfortunately it is unknown

unknown to Record searchers (it is not included, *e.g.*, in C. T. Martin, *Record Interpreter* list of Latin names of British localities) Mr. Martin suggests that the name must begin with *Pen*. It is equally likely to be *Bryn* which is also a hill or mount.

P. 689.] *Harlaus*. Referred to at our p. 19 as "a learned (tho' lashing) master."

*Flacci*. See on H.'s classical attainments, Introd. p. xxvi. It is likely that H. has made a "howler" here, and refers to the *Ænied* as "*Flacci epos*."

*Sphistao*. Curious Latin for "Sophister." See on p. 34.

*Socium*. See Doc. xl.

P. 690.] *cognovit Iber*. A reference to the earlier Spanish voyage.

*Borealis*, the residence in York 1626-8.

*Orator*, the Danish Embassy.

*Siculi*. A further reference to the landing in Sicily. See on pp. 62, 63.

*ter* refers to three sessions, not three Parliaments.

P. 691.] *Vocales*. Here begins a selected list of H.'s works ingeniously characterised; the footnotes of the original will give the clue.

P. 694.] *P. Piscator*, *i.e.*, Payne Fisher. See on p. 688.

DOC. XXXIX.—TABLE, *i.e.* list of persons to whom the letters are addressed.

The list is by no means complete and may be supplemented by the names printed in Clarendon in the Index. They serve, however, very frequently to identify names only given by initials in the text. Names in brackets were added in the second edition, 1650.

P. 696.] DOC. XL.—HOWELL'S ELECTION. I owe this interesting confirmation of Howell's claim to be a Fellow of Jesus, to the present Vice-Principal of Jesus, through the kind intervention of Prof. Rhys. The curious point comes out that there were two James Howells elected on that day and that H. Penry, H.'s brother-in-law, was also elected at the same time.



## QUERIES.

[It would, of course, be misleading to suggest that the following are the only points left unsettled in the preceding annotations. They merely represent those which, according to my plan, I should have liked to have found something about, but have failed. Lists of more elementary difficulties, all solved in the present edition, were given in *N. and Q.* xi. 475; 3 vii. 179; 5 vii. 148, xi. 407. But those were merely "pass" exams.]

1. What were the names indicated by the following initials—  
A. S. (206), E. D. (287), Sir E. B. (333), T. D. (378), F. C. (407), T. T. (420), Lady M. A. (448), T. C. (627)?
2. Who were the following, and where are they mentioned in contemporary records—Father Boniface (184), J. Harris (244), Mr. Gilpin (298), Mr. Pickhurst (337), C. Mor (377), W. Pawly (421), J. Meredith, Hodge Powell (427), Mr. Watts, T. Waters (573), Major Walker (627)?
3. Explain the meaning and etymology of the following words—*Gazull* (60), *consaorman* (66), *Quæ la vel Hipps* (256), *Otraqua*, *Tampoy*, *Chiffi*, *Mingol* (453, 454), *Yef.* (455)?
4. What great philosopher called mankind a "Molehill of ants" (43), and who wished to be blind to think the better (444)?
5. What Duke of Milan was poisoned by letter (73)?
6. Where were the Rammakins (36), Wanless Park (274)?
7. What King of Persia was elected for seeing the sun rise first (339)?
8. Where does Seneca say *Nihil est infelicius*, &c. (358), and *Nullum est majus malum*, &c. (*ib.*)?
9. Who were the authors of the following—*Quod divinitus contingit*, &c. (613), *Proh superi! quantum mortalia*, &c. (617), *Distinguas inter tempora*, &c. (619)?
10. Whence did Howell obtain his learning about drinks (II. lv. p. 453 *seq.*), and his alchemical knowledge (434)?
11. What was Lady Southwell's news from Utopia (260)?
12. When and why was Howell sent to Orleans (321) and Ruelle (352)?

# INDEX.

## NOMINUM, LOCORUM, RERUM, VERBORUM.

NAMES in **Clarendon** type refer to persons to whom Howell's *Letters* are addressed. Items in *italics* are rare, obsolete, peculiar or early uses of words: short explanations are added (in brackets) when necessary. Words in square brackets refer to matters only referred to, not given, in the text, or occur only in the Introduction and Notes. Where fuller information is given in the notes an italic *n* is added to the number of the page in the text. Numbers in square brackets refer to statements in the Supplements, pp. 649-98.

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